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Embassies Close; Personnel Abroad Reduced

AU2905163390 Sofia BTA in English 1611 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 29 (BTA)—Twenty of the Bulgarian diplomatic missions have been closed this year. The staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs working abroad was cut down by 205 diplomats and 60 employees by which it is expected to economize 753 thousand currency leva in inconvertible currency and 2.55 million currency leva in hard currency in 1990. Most of these people should return to Bulgaria by the end of May.

Six Bulgarian trade missions have also been closed. The personnel of the Ministry of the Foreign Economic Relations working abroad will be reduced by 53 people. As a result of these steps the country will economize more than 1.3 milliard dollars this year. It is planned to reduce the personnel of the missions the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations has abroad by another 20 percent.

Foreign Minister on Diplomatic Appointments

AU2705203290 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 11 May 90 p 2

["Third part" of interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Boyko Dimitrov by Krasimir Georgiev and Yordan Vasilev; place and date not given: "Once Again on the Subject of the Diplomatic Service"]

[Text] [DEMOKRATSIYA] What legal documents provide guidance for the cadre policy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the moment, and what is planned for the future? Will the top diplomatic appointments be approved by the Grand National Assembly? We know that plans are being made and already being implemented for changing some of the top diplomatic cadres in foreign posts. Is there a political motive involved in resolving, months and even days before the elections, questions that will determine the cadre and political aspects of our foreign policy in future years?

[Dimitrov] In the ministry, we are preparing a preliminary working draft of a law on the diplomatic service. This is not "a move behind the back of the National Roundtable," as it was described in DEMOKRATSIYA. The brief period remaining before the elections will hardly allow us to deal with this matter.

At the moment, we have no legislative body that could discuss and adopt a law on the diplomatic service. After the elections, we plan to begin a process of broad consultations to discuss our working draft, which by then, I hope, will acquire a more finished form. On this basis, the draft law will be supplemented and, following the relevant procedures, submitted for discussion and approval to the commissions and to the plenary session of the Grand National Assembly.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Will the draft law on the diplomatic service once again refer to the so-called "other interested departments"? Which departments do you have in mind?

[Dimitrov] The embassy staffs of all countries include representatives of various economic and cultural departments. This is true for the United States, the FRG; almost everywhere there are representatives of ministries of finance and trade, diplomats responsible for cooperation in the agricultural field, and so on.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Are new candidacies for ambassador posts discussed by the Foreign Policy Commission of the National Assembly? Is it necessary to renew the ambassadorial staff months and days before the elections?

[Dimitrov] The commission was expected to discuss some of the appointments, but the National Assembly dissolved itself. Accordingly, at the moment we are delaying the process, and only appointing ambassadors in urgent cases. The leadership of the ministry takes responsibility for the objectivity of the appointments.

In recent months, nine ambassadors have been proposed and appointed. Five of them are from the ministry, and four from the "Foreign Policy and International Affairs Department of the Central Committee [CC] of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]" (but had been employed as ambassadors before entering the department). The embassies concerned are ones where one cannot wait for several months until the Grand National Assembly convenes for an appointment to be made.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Is it possible for an ambassador's functions to be performed for a certain time by a charge d'affaires ad interim, with a lower rank than other members of the embassy staff?

[Dimitrov] This can be done for two or three months, but 20 ambassadors have already returned. It is not always convenient nor in our interest to leave charges d'affaires in control for a long time.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Let us return to the issue of the "other departments." What is the cadre situation at the moment in the Bulgarian embassies and representations abroad (in West Europe for example) between the "career" diplomats and officials without a diplomatic education sent out by the Foreign Policy and International Affairs Department of the BCP CC, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of National Defense, and other departments? Are some of the posts in the Bulgarian embassies in certain "preferred" countries still occupied by people who obtained their appointments as a present for services performed?

[Dimitrov] I will briefly explain the position regarding the interrelations with the so-called "other departments," including the security and intelligence services. I say briefly because it is inappropriate to comment in detail on this subject. Any superfluous word here may be turned against the country's interests.

There is no doubt that there are serious distortions in this sphere. The opportunity is now opening up to make a start on eliminating them. However, let me be precise. The DEMOKRATSIYA newspaper wrote that quotas existed, and these were determined by the CC's Foreign Policy and International Affairs Department. This is not true. Things were decided by Todor Zhivkov personally. He personally monitored the question of the "correlation." The numbers were procured directly through him, and no one could change them—neither the CC nor the minister of foreign affairs.

Now the situation is such that such matters are decided through collective and objective discussion, with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs having the final word.

Lukanov Sees No 'Double-Dealing' by West

AU3005084690 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 22, 28 May 90 p 1

[Interview with Premier Andrey Lukanov by unidentified POGLED reporter; place and date not given: "Double-Dealing?"]

[Text] [POGLED] It is difficult to assume that Dr. Petur Beron is lying when he maintains in front of journalists that almost all leaders whom the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] delegation met in the United States, France, and England stated that Bulgaria will not receive so much as a penny of economic aid from the West if the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] wins the elections. Is it possible that the West is playing a double-dealing in anything related to the UDF and the ruling BSP?

[Lukanov] I would like to remind you that the totalitarian regime in Bulgaria used to receive significant assistance from the West. I do not think that anyone would deny our country economic aid if the political process and democratization continue to develop normally. I am inclined to believe more what I see with my own eyes or hear with my own ears, rather than tales that have not been confirmed by any serious political figure. I have sufficient respect for the major political leaders in West Europe not to suspect that they are conducting a double-dealing.

Israel Signs Aviation Agreement

TA2805095890 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 28 May 90 p C1

[Zohar Blumenkrantz report]

[Text] Bulgaria and Israel have initialed a new aviation agreement regulating the two countries' relations in this sphere. The agreement enables their national airlines—Balkanair and El Al—to launch commercial negotiations toward an agreement on regular flights between Bulgaria and Israel. The Israeli delegation that held the most recent series of talks in Sofia included El Al representative Shlomo Humtzani and Foreign Ministry representative Eli Tavor.

With the achievement of the aviation agreement with Bulgaria, East Germany is the only East European country that has not signed a similar agreement with Israel. Even the Soviet national airline Aeroflot has a commercial agreement with El Al, although it has not been implemented as a result of Moscow's political objection.

Responding to a HA'ARETZ query on the issue, Transportation Minister Moshe Qatzav said that contrary to the development of relations with other East European countries—where the establishment of aviation links preceded political ties—he would prefer to see how Israel's political relations with East Germany develop before agreeing to the establishment of aviation ties.

Qatzav noted that, nonetheless, he recently permitted El Al officials to hold talks with representatives of Interflug, the East German national airline.

FRG Offers Environmental Protection Help

AU2905170390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 28 May 90 p 2

[Stanislav Kolev report: "FRG To Supply Bulgaria With Air Pollution Control System"]

[Text] The FRG will supply our country with an automatic system worth $100,000 that will control air pollution. The system will receive and process data provided by the regional control stations. This was confirmed by Klaus Toepfer, FRG minister of environment, nature conservation, and reactor safety, during his talks with Bulgarian counterpart, Aleksandur Aleksandrov.

The meeting between the two ministers took place in Munich during the visit of the Bulgarian delegation in connection with the opening of the IFTA-90—the greatest trade fair in the world for environmental protection machines, equipment, and technology—that took place in Munich from 22 to 26 May.

During the talks, Mr. Toepfer pointed out that despite the great financial and other commitments that emerged after the integration processes between the two Germanys began, his country's government confirms its readiness to continue the development of cooperation with other countries in East and Central Europe, including Bulgaria, in the sphere of ecology.

The two ministers also reviewed the possibilities of cooperation in protecting the environment near the electric power plants. Minister Aleksandrov's proposal to organize a conference of the Danubian countries, under the FRG auspices, at which a new convention on preserving the water of this European river will be adopted, was greeted with interest and satisfaction.

Greece Permits Expatriate Bulgarians To Vote

AU2805085990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 May 90 p 3

[Text] Athens, 23 May (our correspondent Tsocho Shatrov)—After the agreement with the Greek government, electoral commissions have been formed at the Bulgarian Embassy in Athens and the Bulgarian Consulate General in Salonika in order to allow Bulgarian citizens permanently living and working in Greece to exercise their right to vote within the country. A number of central newspapers, as well as the Greek radio, have made announcements concerning what information must be provided by those wishing to vote, and when and where they can cast their votes.

The electoral commission at the Bulgarian Embassy in Athens held a meeting today, at which it discussed the possibilities of locating all Bulgarian citizens with voting rights. Bulgarian Consul Evtim Gandev, chairman of the commission; Tsetsko Surdulov, secretary of the commission and correspondent for the DEMOKRATSIYA newspaper; and interpreter Mariya Kritidu, member of the commission, made a number of proposals for ensuring wider publicity for the recent decisions by the Central Electoral Commission. It was recommended that the "Father Paisiy" Society for Bulgarian Culture and Education in Greece should take an even more active part in locating Bulgarians permanently living and working in Greece, as well as in forming and organizing election sections at the embassy in Athens and the consulate general in Salonika.

UDF Leader Zhelev Visits Athens

AU2805161490 Sofia BTA in English 1521 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] Athens, May 28 (BTA correspondent)—Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF], arrived last night [27 May] in Athens to pay a visit at the invitation of the Friends of the SDS in Greece Association. Today [28 May] he has had several business meetings. In the morning he was received by Mr. Constantine Mitsotakis, prime minister of Greece and leader of the New Democracy Party. They discussed some matters of mutual interest in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere and expressed a shared desire for the further promotion of Bulgaro-Greek relations to the interest of the good neighborly relations and friendship between the two peoples independent of the political changes in the two countries. Earlier this morning Dr. Zhelev had talks with Mr. Georgios Souflias, [spelling as received], minister of the economy of Greece.

At a news conference at the Greek Journalists' Union the SDS chairman spoke about the character of the changes brought about in Bulgaria after November 10, 1989, about the problems of dismantling the totalitarian structures in the country, about the prospects of privatization in Bulgaria (especially in agriculture) and about some other problems of the political everyday life in the period preceding the elections.

Dr. Zhelev did not take it upon himself to predict the results of the elections in Bulgaria but expressed his assurance in the success of the SDS.

Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev opened an exhibition comprising the works of four Bulgarian artists supporters of the SDS, which is on show in the Municipal Art Gallery in Athens.

Ilinden Group Plans To Go 'Underground'

AU2705183490 Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 27 May 90

["On the Anti-Bulgarian Activities Of Ilinden"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 27 (BTA)—The Ilinden United Macedonian Organization, which has been accused of anti-Bulgarian activities, intends to go underground under the direct guidance of organizations in the Yugoslav constituent Socialist Republic of Macedonia, says an announcement of the National Service for Protection of the Constitution circulated here.

Earlier in the week the National Assembly Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs recommended that the Prosecutor's Office outlaw the Ilinden activities as unconstitutional and separatist.

The announcement describes the Ilinden members as "extremists."

The National Service for Protection of the Constitution emphasizes that foreign powers continue their interference in Bulgaria's internal affairs through the anti-Bulgarian activities of Ilinden.

Macedonian Organization Activities Denounced

AU2805192590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] The Blagoevgrad Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs disseminated an announcement in which it informs the public about the activities of the so-called "Ilinden" United Macedonian Organization, which have become more frequent in recent weeks. As is well known, the organization issues anti-Bulgarian separatist calls for separating Pirin Macedonia from Bulgaria and recognizing the existence of a Macedonian minority in Bulgaria.

The Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs repeatedly informed the leaderships of the basic political parties and associations in the region about "Ilinden" activities. For their part, the parties and movements expressed concern about the anti-Bulgarian and illegal activity of the organization.

The announcement reveals that within less than a month, "Ilinden" leaders repeatedly visited Yugoslavia while their head, Stoyan Georgiev, has already been in Skopje for 10 days, where he is meeting political and social figures.

The announcement concludes that the leaders of the organization are obviously trying to build up their political careers with the support of certain Yugoslav circles. They utilize the ignorance of certain Bulgarian citizens, speculate with mistakes related to the nationality issue that had been allowed in the past, and crudely distort the historic truth.

The Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has information that a part of the "Ilinden" members intend to develop clandestine activity.

On the basis of all this, the Blagoevgrad Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs announces that it will uncompromisingly apply all legal measures for stopping the anti-Bulgarian and anticonstitutional activity of Bulgarian and foreign citizens associated with the "Ilinden" Organization.

Further on Ilinden's 'Illegal' Activities

AU2805203190 Sofia BTA in English 1950 GMT 28 May 90

["Ilinden Plans To Go Underground"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—The Regional Directorate of Internal Affairs in the town of Blagoevgrad, southwestern Bulgaria, today [28 May] circulated an announcement on the recent activities of the so-called Ilinden United Macedonian Organization which calls for the secession of Pirin Macedonia from Bulgaria and for the recognition of a Macedonian minority.

The Regional Directorate of Internal Affairs has repeatedly notified the leaderships of the major political parties and associations in the area about the Ilinden activities, and they have voiced concern over the anti-Bulgarian and illegal character of these activities. The Regional Directorate has information that certain Yugoslav citizens, public organizations and state bodies are directly involved in the organization and direction of the Ilinden activities. The announcement says that on May 24, 1990 the Yugoslav citizen Pante Mitev of the town of Kocani was subjected to a customs inspection at the Stanke Lisichkovo Border Checkpoint and materials of the organization, earmarked for the respective Yugoslav bodies, were found on him. On May 26 at the Zlatarevo Checkpoint Georgi Petrovski of the town of Strumitsa was caught in an attempt to take across the border anti-Bulgarian materials authored by members of Ilinden, including a letter in which Sokrat Markelov thanks for a pecuniary aid and moral support he has received. A customs inspection on May 27 found that Iliya Filipov of the town of Sandanski carried propaganda materials intended for circulation in Bulgaria, including a proclamation of the anti-Bulgarian party recently formed in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

The announcement says that in less than a month leaders of Ilinden had paid repeated visits to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and that their leader Stoyan Georgiev is in Skopje for a tenth day running. He confers there with political and public figures. The Regional Directorate says that the organizations's leaders are obviously seeking a political career with the help of certain circles in Yugoslavia.

The Regional Directorate of Internal Affairs has information that some Ilinden members intend to go ahead with underground activities. They may probably take some undesirable action irrespective of the formal warning for the termination of the organization's activities, issued by the Regional Prosecutor's Office in Blagoevgrad.

The Regional Directorate of Internal Affairs declares that it will uncompromisingly enforce all measures laid down in the law to stop the anti-Bulgarian and unconstitutional activities of Bulgarian and foreign citizens associated with the Ilinden Organization.

Lukanov Discusses Nonviolence Agreement

AU3005134690 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 24 May 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov by DEMOKRATSIYA reporters Georgi Lazarov and Georgi Koritarov in Sofia on 23 May: "Festive Act or Political Responsibility"—the two final paragraphs are DEMOKRATSIYA's commentary on the interview]

[Text] On 23 May, Mr. Andrey Lukanov had a news conference for Bulgarian and foreign reporters. He also answered our questions related to the circumstances that surrounded the signing of the agreement on nonviolence and observing the law and the citizens' rights by the political parties and organizations, proposed by the republic's president.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] What is the attitude of the premier toward the text of the agreement, which has a normative character? Why is such an agreement necessary when there are laws and institutions?

[Lukanov] At this stage, one cannot say that a firm legal system of a rule-of-law and parliamentary democracy state has been established in Bulgaria. One of the basic tasks of the future Grand National Assembly will be to establish the foundation of the new political system in our country. At this stage, it is extremely necessary that all political forces assume a solemn obligation to refrain from violence. I think that now our country faces the risk of reviving past political struggles and giving them such a direction that could lead to violence on the part of political parties or individual citizens.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] The first point of the agreement reads: "No psychological or moral pressure should be applied to public institutions and persons by group and individual acts, or through the mass media." Is this not an opening for silencing the mass media in the election campaign and banning rallies?

[Lukanov] I see no contradiction between the text you read and the basic rules of democracy.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] In DUMA of 22 May, there is an editorial entitled; "UDF [Union of Democratic Forces] Refuses to Reject Violence." Do you, Mr. Premier, agree with this assessment?

[Lukanov] I do not want to comment on DUMA's articles. As far as the headline you mentioned is concerned, I think that it reflects the events of 21 May 1990.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Many political parties and organizations that are not members of the UDF also refused to sign the agreement and expressed their remarks about its text. Why is the UDF being singled out?

[Lukanov] Indeed, many parties and organizations did not sign the agreement. However, we are talking about the basic political forces, and the UDF is one of them.

We accept Andrey Lukanov's claim that a firm legal system has not yet been established in Bulgaria. However, if the agreement really is intended to be a normative and public guarantor of the peaceful transition toward democracy, then it must also contain the consent of all political forces.

It has become a tradition to adopt documents of special importance for the country's future with a propaganda noise and festivity. Until now only the noise remained. The festivity sadly turned into socialist reality.

Parties Quarrel With Campaign Funds Distribution

AU3005131690 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 24 May 90 p 1

[Polina Mikhaylova report: "Political Agreements With Bulgarian Socialist Party (Bulgarian Communist Party) Are Meaningless"]

[Text] On 23 May at the Ministry of Finance, Deputy Minister Mikhail Dinev announced that in accordance with Decree No. 44 of the Council of Ministers of 10 May 1990, 3,000 leva had been allocated as the first installment of the amount to be paid to the political parties and coalitions for their election campaigns. Two millions of this amount will be equally distributed among all registered candidates in the single-candidate constituencies. This means that each candidate will receive 1,440 leva. Up to this point, the roundtable agreements have not been violated.

However, the announcement of Deputy Minister Dinev that the other million will be distributed among the political parties whose representatives attended the meeting exacerbated the situation. Stormy debates and malicious remarks addressed to the major political parties and election coalitions filled the air. A decision was adopted to distribute the amount on the basis of the lists registered with the Central Election Commission. This contradicts the third point of the roundtable agreement, according to which "the finances must be distributed among parties and election coalitions that have candidates in all constituencies." The Union of Democratic Forces representative refused to sign the agreement on the distribution of the finances.

Through its government, the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BCP) [Bulgarian Communist Party] again violated the roundtable agreements.

Lukanov Pleven Constituency Competitors Listed

AU3005130690 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 28 May 90 p 1

[Angel Atanasov report: "Lukanov's Rivals"]

[Text] Pleven, 27 May—Some 12 parties and political movements registered their candidates in the 14th multicandidate constituency (the former Pleven Okrug). The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] has the longest list—12 candidates, led by Foreign Affairs Minister Boyko Dimitrov. The Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] is next with 10 candidates, led by BZNS Administrative Council member Ivan Pantaleev. The list of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] is headed by Plamen Darakchiev, deputy chief editor of DEMOKRATSIYA and UDF Coordinating Council member. The Rights and Freedoms Movement, the Bulgarian Democratic Constitutional Party, the Bulgarian National Democratic Party, and the Christian-Democratic Party have one candidate each.

Some eight parties participate with their lists in the majority-system round of the elections. Premier Andrey Lukanov is candidate in the 52d election constituency. His rivals are Krasimir Petrov from the Alternative Socialist Party; Todor Zhelyazkov from the BZNS; Stefan Gaytandzhiev from the UDF; Yuliana Stoyanova from the Alternative Socialist Association; and Plamen Stefanov from the Political Opposition Bloc-Center.

Trade Union's Political Platform Published

AU2905115490 Sofia BTA in English 1036 GMT 29 May 90

["Trade Unions' Crisis-Management Platform"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 29 (BTA)—The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria will support a program on economic reform and crisis management which renounces command-and-administer structures and methods of management, which gives scope to profit motive, which makes special arrangements for job security, which recognizes the right to income from all real sources: labor, capital, land, entrepreneurial venture and managerial skill, and which protects the socially disadvantaged and does not abridge trade union freedoms and rights.

The Trade Unions declare this in their platform on a way out of the socioeconomic crisis which appears in today's TRUD. The Trade Unions believe that the crisis can be overcome by a transition to a regulated market economy. They declare themselves in favor of equality of all forms of ownership. Among the forms of privatization, they prefer those which give working people a share in the realization of property. They stress that they want the three types of markets: of goods and services, of labor power, and of capital, to develop on an equal footing but with measures to mitigate the social problems which inevitably arise from the market regulation of labor relations.

The Trade Unions insist that the transition to a market economy run parallel to a well-considered restructuring of the national economy. They make a special point that the finance, tax and budget system should be strengthened within the context of an overall economic reform and not for the sake of short-term and ad hoc objectives. They believe that an inflation control program is a must.

The Independent Trade Unions urge for a new role of the state in the market economy. Statutory conditions should be created for the operation of a market economy, the judiciary should guarantee the enforcement of the economic and labor legislation, the executive powers should regulate the market through legitimate economic and social levers. The trade union organizations should be consulted in drafting laws on labor, on trade unions and on social security.

According to the platform, the principles of social protection should be revised and social security should be legitimized by special statute. Social protection should be secured by special funds at the national, regional, trade-union and individual level.

The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions declares that it will support the political forces which hold views similar to its platform and will cooperate with any government which will prove that it can help Bulgaria out of the crisis at an acceptable social price.

Ninety per cent of the Trade Unions' platform overlaps with the campaign programs of the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF].

Human Rights Leader Vodenicharov Interviewed

AU2705203590 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 11 May 90 p 1

[Interview with Rumen Vodenicharov, chairman of the Independent Association for Defense of Human Rights, by Georgi Lazarov; place and date not given: "A Common Democratic Platform"]

[Text] [Lazarov] What will you do first when the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] wins the elections?

[Vodenicharov] The first thing, which is easiest to do and involves no capital investments, is to restore political and civic rights. This can be done in a relatively short period by drafting a democratic constitution and starting work on new legislation that is in line with international human rights standards.

[Lazarov] What then? Do you believe that the country will emerge from the total crisis into which it has fallen?

[Vodenicharov] Later on the competent economists must have their say. Privatization in combination with political rights will open the floodgates for our people's creative energy.

[Lazarov] What is the main thing that unites you with the other parties and movements in the UDF?

[Vodenicharov] The desire to spur on and accelerate the processes toward democratization in Bulgaria. We realized even earlier that we could not achieve anything by ourselves, but we served as a catalyst (an accelerator) for the social processes. What unites us with the others is not extreme anticommunism, but a desire to achieve real deeds because it is one thing to cry "Down with this" and "Long live that," but quite another to propose something constructive to our people.

[Lazarov] Which compromises are you inclined to make, and which do you reject outright?

[Vodenicharov] We reject out of hand any compromise that is connected with violating basic human rights. An example of a compromise that we accept is unification with organizations that have platforms different from ours but whose activity is connected with human rights in one form or another. On the basis of a long-term program, we can carry out joint actions together with them.

[Lazarov] What guarantees are there for what the voters expect from you?

[Vodenicharov] The guarantees lie in the fact that we are not a political party and will always be independent and above political aspirations. A further guarantee that we will never politicize ourselves is the fact that we do not permit the members of any political parties to hold leading positions in our association.

[Lazarov] Briefly, what does the Independent Association for Defense of Human Rights represent, and on whose votes are you relying the most?

[Vodenicharov] We are a free association of Bulgarian citizens whose efforts are directed toward one thing only, namely to ensure that Bulgarian legislation is brought into line with international standards as soon as possible. At one time, it was easier for people to violate human rights because it was difficult to objectively interpret a given decision by the authorities or their conduct in a particular case. Now there is no place for interpretations. The international standards have already been created, and it only remains for us to reach their level. In democratic states, no further problems exist with citizens' civic and political rights. There, the people experienced everything with which we are now grappling 20 or 30 years ago and now face other problems.

We are counting on the vote of the average Bulgarian, who has had his fill of communism, of this incredible social experiment that unfortunately proved unsuccessful and without a future. We are also greatly relying on the Bulgarian intelligentsia and believe that people capable of drafting democratic and lasting laws must enter the Grand National Assembly and the subsequent national assemblies.

[Lazarov] In casting his vote for you, for what will the Bulgarian be voting?

[Vodenicharov] For legality, democracy, and human rights.

[Lazarov] What do you wish the Bulgarian voter?

[Vodenicharov] A measure of skepticism. The Bulgarian has been deceived many times and should not allow himself to be cheated this time as well.

Christian Democrat Official Discusses Party

AU2805081190 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 23 May 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Georgi Georgiev, Supreme Coordinating Council member of the Christian Democratic Party, by Kristina Patrashkova; place and date not given: "What Unites Us Is Human Ethics"]

[Text] Even the leaders of the Christian Democratic Party in Bulgaria do not assert that their ideas are popular and, what is more, they admit that they are unknown to many people. In contrast to almost all the other political parties, the Christian Democrats are not conducting an active election campaign and have not even engaged in organizational work. Only 8,000 leva has been spent so far on the party's affairs.

Such a position may seem strange to anyone, but there are motives for it. I raised this topic at the start of my interview with Georgi Georgiev, member of the Coordinating Council of the Christian Democratic Party.

[Georgiev] The social basis for the Christian Democratic Party has still not yet been created in Bulgaria. We admit that we must first popularize our ideas and discover and create true politicians, people for whom the party provides a place to implement social activity, and not an opportunity to acquire personal wealth.

[Patrashkova] Do you think that the split in the party has badly effected its popularity?

[Georgiev] You are referring to the formation of the Bulgarian Christian Democratic Party (Center), which is trying to form a right-wing opposition bloc. The separation was necessary because our concepts concerning "making" politics are different. In our view, at the stage in which we are at present, national interests must stand above party ones. Politics will be "made" tomorrow, when the true politicians are formed.

[Patrashkova] Is this the reason why you are a party without a chairman?

[Georgiev] We have still not built up the party's image and only have a Supreme Coordinating Council. Changes may well take place after our congress, which will probably be held in the autumn.

[Patrashkova] Newly formed parties usually increase their membership. How many members do you have now?

[Georgiev] Up to February, 2,500 members were reported.

[Patrashkova] It is asserted that your political behavior is civilized.

[Georgiev] We criticize only from moral positions and give everyone a chance to change. Our political declaration states: "We are united by age-old human ethics in the struggle against corrupt forms of interrelations in society."

[Patrashkova] Did you find your recent meeting with President Petur Mladenov useful?

[Georgiev] We were extremely satisfied. We declared at the meeting that we were striving toward political centrism and an evolutionary economic reform based on private property, with a substantial limitation of the state's functions.

[Patrashkova] On what ticket will you participate in the elections?

[Georgiev] Our candidates are on the lists of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, with which we are organically linked by the centrist political trend.

[Patrashkova] What points would you stress in your party's fundamental program?

[Georgiev] We believe that the main problem in society is the moral crisis. Accordingly, our program speaks about the individual's responsibility, self-esteem, and dignity, about personal self-fulfillment, social security, and harmony. We stand for guaranteeing equal chances in life and for strengthening family and kinship traditions. We support a socially free market economy mainly based on private ownership. Naturally, I cannot describe our entire program here.

[Patrashkova] How do the Christian Democrats define democracy?

[Georgiev] Democracy must guarantee cooperation and liberty through the distribution of power and control over it.

Government Not To Seize Hunting Rifles

AU2805192090 Sofia BTA in English 1842 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—The management of the Ministry of Internal Affairs lifts the requirement that hunting weapons should be handed over and appeals to the leadership and to all members of the Bulgarian Hunters and Anglers Union to observe strictly the commitments they have assumed for the use of hunting weapons, says an announcement read on national television this evening [28 May] in connection with a previous statement made by General Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of internal affairs.

Vacek News Conference on Defense Strategy, Issues

LD3005141690 Prague CTK in English 1325 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Prague May 30 (CTK)—Czechoslovak National Defence Minister Army General Miroslav Vacek said at a press conference here today that Czechoslovakia's unilateral defence orientation will probably be changed in the future.

He gave an affirmative reply to a question whether the Czechoslovak Army counts with the exchange of experience and soldiers with NATO armies, and indicated that such a form of cooperation could be possible with the FRG, Italy, Spain, France and Britain.

The minister recalled that May 31 is the end of the first stage of departure from Czechoslovakia of the Soviet troops which invaded the country in August 1968 crushing together with another four Warsaw Treaty countries' armies, the revival process in Czechoslovakia. The withdrawal started on February 26, 1990, on the basis of a Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty. It should be realized in three stages and completed by the end of June 1991. Before the withdrawal started there were 73,500 Soviet soldiers in Czechoslovakia.

Miroslav Vacek said that 25,827 Soviet soldiers out of the total 26,000 to leave Czechoslovakia in the first stage have left the country by today.

The minister also gave figures on the withdrawal of Soviet military hardware by May 29: 551 tanks—11 more than planned, 409 guns and mine-throwers—59 in excess of the plan, 30 launching devices, 19 planes, and 92 helicopters—44 more than planned. Also the number of artillery vehicles and armoured carriers was higher than originally projected—by 400.

Minister Vacek assessed the first stage of Soviet troops departure positively and pointed out the agreement was fulfilled in the extent agreed and without any serious problems.

On June 1 the second stage will start to last until December 31, 1990. The Soviet Army will leave 19 garrisons in the Czechoslovak territory which will bring the total number of Soviet garrisons discontinued in the country to 30, the minister said.

He pointed out that the condition of the facilities left by the Soviets is "unsatisfactory," but asked in this connection whether the impact of Czechoslovak state enterprises' activity on the environment will be judged with the same strictness.

The minister noted that the Czechoslovak Army is now considering several variants of its build-up, some of which speak about its professionalization and gradual shortening of the military service which could, in the minister's view, be reduced from the present 18 months (and nine months in university graduates) within one to three years.

The new Czechoslovak military-defence doctrine and a new concept of the country's defence and security policy will depend on the new Czechoslovak constitution which is to be elaborated by the new parliament to emerge from the June elections. In June expenditures on the Czechoslovak Army should be made public, Miroslav Vacek said.

He said in connection with the coming elections that three weeks a go a poll was conducted among 1,155 soldiers undergoing military service. The biggest number of them—28 per cent—would vote for the Greens, 17 for the Civic Forum, 13 for the Christian and Democratic Union coalition, 11 for the Czechoslovak Social Democrats, 9 for the Democratic Party, 6 for the Beer Friends Party and 3 for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The minister declined with a smile to announce results of a similar poll among career soldiers.

He described alternative civil service as one of the biggest problems of the Czechoslovak Army at present since many young men are trying to avoid military service without religious or moral reasons.

Foresees Training Sites Closure

LD3005153990 Prague CTK in English 1457 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Prague May 30 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Minister Miroslav Vacek said at a press conference here today that three training sites—in Mimon in North Bohemia, Dobra Voda in the Sumava mountains and Kamenica nad Cirochou in East Slovakia, will soon stop being used for training of troops and will be opened to the public and used for economic activities.

He told journalists that at another six training sites, the training will be limited and the areas will be partly opened to the public.

Journalists were given a publication of the Czechoslovak Defence Ministry "The Czechoslovak Army—Facts". According to it, the Czechoslovak army had on May 1, 1990 a total of 389 aircraft, 4,252 tanks, 5,397 armoured vehicles, 130 helicopters, 81 launching-pads for operational-tactical and tactical missiles, 566 anti-tank missile systems and 3,674 rocket launchers, guns and mortars.

A number of these weapons will be reduced in the future, mostly by the end of 1990. The number of aircraft will be cut to 356, helicopters to 76, tanks to 3,735, armoured vehicles to 4,735, rocket launchers, guns and mortars to 3,360 and the number of launching pads to 77. The number of anti-tank missile systems will be preserved.

According to the publication, the Czechoslovak Army has 14 training sites on Czechoslovak territory on an area of 2,664 square kilometres, i.e. 2.06 per cent of the territory, eight of them in the Czech republic and six in Slovakia.

Havel Sends Messages to Bush, Baker, Gorbachev

LD3005172490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel has sent a message on the forthcoming meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush. In it he expresses concern about the course of the Vienna talks on conventional disarmament. He also expresses the expectation that the forthcoming talks between both presidents in Washington will bring significant results in the area of nuclear disarmament, and such political decisions which will enable the conclusion of the Vienna talks as soon as possible. Vaclav Havel assures George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev that Czechoslovakia continues to strive to contribute with its action to a speedy solution to ongoing problems at these talks.

The message from President Vaclav Havel was presented in Prague today by Zdenek Matejka, deputy federal minister of foreign affairs, to the ambassadors of the United States and the Soviet Union, Shirley Temple-Black and Boris Pankin. At the same time he handed over to the U.S. ambassador a reply from Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier to the letter from U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, which expresses views on the course of talks on the unification of Germany, the role of NATO in the Europe of today, and on the further development of the Helsinki process.

Further on Havel Spokesman's News Conference

AU3005151890

[Editorial Report] Several Czech and Slovak newspapers on 29 May publish correspondents' reports on a news conference by Michael Zantovsky, President Vaclav Havel's press secretary, in Prague on 28 May.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 29 May on page 2 carries a 500-word Igor Sirota report entitled "The President's Spokesman on the Casting of Doubts on Elections." According to the report, during the news conference, Zantovsky "reacted to Doctor Topinka's article 'Election Speculation and Fraud' in the Monday (28 May) issue of SVOBODNE SLOVO. He said that President Havel understands that after years of totalitarianism, 'some excesses and squabbles' were bound to happen in the election campaign. However, if Mr. Topinka attacks on the eve of the elections their very principle, which was also approved by the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, 'this cannot be termed anything but outrageous.' He added: 'If Mr. Topinka fears, as he evidently does, that his party could fall short of the five-percent limit [required to gain parliamentary seats], it will not be the fault of the election law but, evidently, of a poorly conducted election campaign or of this party's policy'."

A 400-word MLADA FRONTA report on the news conference, published on 29 May on page 1, quotes Zantovsky's remarks on the prisoners' mutiny in the Prague-Ruzyne penitentiary. According to the report, Zantovsky intimated that the mutiny might have been stirred up by the prison wardens: "Michael Zantovsky described the mutiny in the Ruzyne jail as absurd. Only a year ago, the same members of the Corrective Education Corps would have punished even the slightest transgression by a prisoner by solitary confinement at the least. Today the prisoners sit on the roof, have broken the doors off the hinges, and are destroying the bars. 'According to information available to us, some members of the Corrective Education Corps helped to provoke the events in the Valdice prison, which nearly ended in a tragedy. The situation in Ruzyne must therefore be dealt with quickly and resolutely. After all, the Corrective Education Corps is a military organization. It is subject to orders and to punishment for noncompliance with orders,' Michael Zantovsky said."

A 400-word Prague PRACE in Czech report on the news conference, published on 29 May on pages 1 and 3, mentions that Zantovsky was asked to respond to the claim of the Cuban paper BOHEMIA that "the president personally invited Pinochet" to visit Czechoslovakia. Havel's spokesman reportedly replied that "it is not our policy to comment on every piece of nonsense in a newspaper. On the evidence of foreign press reports, the president has already invited to Prague some 5 million people and was at 12 different places at once."

According to a LIDOVE NOVINY report on the news conference, Zantovsky "spoke about possible changes in the president's body of consultants." He said that "in the case of Vaclav Havel's reelection as president, there will be a fundamental reorganization of the presidential office; its professionalism will be reinforced."

Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 29 May on page 1 carries a 450- word "em"-signed report on the news conference. The SVOBODNE SLOVO report concedes the validity of Zantovsky's criticism of its 28 May article. It states that Topinka's article was published as "one of many views, for the pluralism of which we constantly call. If the article was understood as a clear attack on the elections, we regret this."

Foreign Ministry News Conference on Europe

LD2905205790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] A news conference was held at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Prague today about Czechoslovak initiatives in forming new security structures in Europe. Olga Jerabkova reports:

[Begin Jerabkova recording] The news conference was organized at the end of a meeting of ambassadors, who represented their countries at the Vienna talks, on measures to strengthen trust and security in Europe and the possibility of reducing conventional armed forces.

Foreign ministry spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky said the invitation to come to Prague was accepted—with the exception of Monaco—by all the other ambassadors, and 22 of them spoke during an informal discussion about yesterday's stimulating speech by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier.

One of the Czechoslovak initiatives is a proposal to launch a so- called Helsinki satellite, with financial backing from all the European countries. It should serve to strengthen European trust, control the movement of armies, and monitor an eventual agreement on the "open sky" regime.

Some agreement was reached in views about forming new structures in Europe: For instance, biannual regular meetings of foreign ministers of European countries, eventually more frequent meetings of foreign ministers of European countries, eventually more frequent meetings by the ambassadors of the 35 signatory countries of the Helsinki Act, establishment of a permanent International Secretariat of European Initiatives, and various specialized centers—for instance, for preventing conflicts and controlling various disarmement agreements.

A meeting of the ambassadors was also to serve for preparing future talks, such as a meeting of experts of the countries of the Initiative of Five in Prague on 19 June, which is to be followed by a meeting of experts on questions of Europen security. The ambassadors agreed in substance that there is a need to institutionalize the Helsinkik process, the further development of which should provide the framework for further talks on future structures in Europe. [end recording]

Barcak on Trade With Unified Germany

LD2905153890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 29 May 90

[Interview with Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] There is not a single day which does not bring fresh reports on the ongoing process of unification between GDR and the FRG. Less, however, is being said about how are we prepared for this reality. For this reason I have asked our federal minister of foreign trade, Andrej Barcak, to tell me how the emergence of the monetary, economic, and social union between both Germanys will be reflected in Czechoslovakia's foreign trade.

[Barcak] We are currently preparing specific material on this issue for the government, which should be discussed before the end of the month. We anticipate problems in our mutual relations, especially after the monetary union scheduled for July.

There have already been some indications that some GDR enterprises have not been meeting their obligations as fully as specified in the agreements they signed. This is because they envisage that they will be able to carry out their deliveries in a month or two in the freely convertible West German marks. Our enterprises are also beginning to speculate about what could be done to get the best out of the deal and how. This should not, however, cause any surprise. Our main problem at present is to maintain a balance that would ensure that neither of our two countries would lose very much from the transition to convertible currency.

I see the main problem in the monetary union of both Germanys as the maintenance of certain long-term relations and production cooperation agreements our enterprise have with their GDR partners. This is a problem which could pose in certain instances considerable production problems on both sides, and therefore it will be up to both sides to seriously set about tackling problems. Otherwise, considerable losses could occur. We anticipate and have assurances to this effect both from the GDR and representatives of the FRG Economics Ministry that the obligations GDR enterprises have undertaken would be observed even after the creation of the monetary union. This provides a certain security.

This is, of course, only a general stance. More will depend on specific conditions. It could happen that one enterprise could say yes. I will observe my obligations, but will increase prices by so much in marks—and therefore it might be us who will abrogate that obligation.

For us, a united Germany will become a very important trade partner. It will certainly be our second biggest partner in the future, and it could be that under certain conditions it might even become the biggest one; we must therefore set about very carefully in our preparations for a unified Germany, and I believe that we will do this very well in cooperation with the other ministries.

Nuclear Safety Agreement Signed With FRG

LD3005131590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] An agreement between Czechoslovakia and the FRG on the adjustment of questions of mutual interest concerning nuclear safety and protection against radiation was concluded in Prague today. It was signed by Zdenko Pirek, deputy Czechoslovak foreign minister and (Klement Strethmann), state secretary of the FRG Ministry for the Protection of the Environment and for the Safety of Nuclear Reactors. The agreement creates conditions for deepening cooperation in providing safe operation of nuclear equipment.

Radioactive Storage; Fuel Shipments to USSR

AU3005090590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 May 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Engineer Jana Moltasova, deputy chairwoman of the Federal Assembly's People's Chamber and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's parliamentary spokeswoman on nuclear power, by Marie Koenigova; place and date not given: "Hearing on Nuclear Power—There Is No Other Way"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted on environmental compatibility of nuclear power] [Koenigova] How is the question of eliminating radioactive waste being dealt with in our country?

[Moltasova] Radioactive waste, with the exception of spent fuel, is first processed and then deposited permanently in repositories built at the sites of nuclear power stations. The reprocessing or permanent storage of spent fuel is not foreseen in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. After a certain time (five to 10 years), this highly radioactive material should be transported to the Soviet Union for permanent storage, in accordance with intergovernmental agreements. For the time being, we have agreements to this effect.

[Koenigova] Why only "for the time being"?

[Moltasova] Even in the USSR, environmentalists oppose the storing of radioactive waste. At the same time, instead of accepting the waste free of charge as until now, the USSR wants to charge us 1,000 rubles for taking away every kilogram of heavy metal. For the eight nuclear units currently in operation (four in Dukovany and four in Jaslovske Bohunice) this would mean an increase in annual operating costs by up to 1 billion korunas. This is why intensive talks are under way on the final amount.

[Koenigova] Will the considerable increase in generating costs be calculated into the price paid by the consumer?

[Moltasova] It probably will. It is no secret that the retail prices of fuels and energy are subsidized by roughly 9 billion korunas a year. These subsidies should be gradually eliminated, which will mean a price increase. [passage omitted on the government's energy concept discussed at the 21 May session of the Federal Government and on foreign experts' positive statements on the safety of the Dukovany nuclear power station]

[Koenigova] What is the safety situation regarding the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power station?

[Moltasova] Our "oldest" nuclear reactor, the V-1, operates in Jaslovske Bohunice, which has a somewhat outdated operational safety system. This reactor will most likely be put out of operation within two years.

[Koenigova] Yet there did occur an accident in one of our nuclear power stations, in the A-1 reactor in Bohunice.

[Moltasova] Yes. It happened in 1977. The accident caused a disruption of the active zone, whereupon radioactivity spread into the primary and secondary circuits of the power station. No radioactivity leaked outside the reactor itself, and there was no exposure of employees to radioactivity. Despite this, the decision was made not to resume the operation of the A-1 unit, mainly for economic reasons.

[Koenigova] What is happening there now?

[Moltasova] The spent fuel gradually is being transported to the USSR, free of charge. About three-quarters of the fuel has been carted off already. A great part of the secondary circuit has been dismantled and taken to the repository. [passage omitted on human failure as the cause of all nuclear accidents]

Lithuania's Landsbergis Continues Visit to Prague

Meets With Lithuanians

LD3005192790 Prague CTK in English 1807 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Prague May 30 (CTK)—Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis told CTK shortly after his arrival here today that his trip to Prague and his meeting with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and other representatives is highly important for Lithuania.

He stressed he saw great understanding for Lithuania's problems in Czechoslovakia.

After the arrival he met with representatives of the Czechoslovak-lithuanian Society and the Union of Lithuanians Living in Czechoslovakia who invited him for a luncheon.

Chairman of the Czechoslovak-Lithuanian Society Roman Raczynski told CTK the society wanted to take advantage of this opportunity for establishing possibly closer contacts with Lithuania first in culture and tourism.

Asked about the ways Czechoslovakia could help Lithuania, Mr Landsbergis said he felt here as being with his relatives and relatives will always find out how to help each other.

The Czechoslovak-Lithuanian Society was established on May 5, 1990 by Lithuanians living here and by people feeling sympathy with the Baltic republic.

Received by Foreign Minister Dienstbier

LD3005193190 Prague CTK in English 1808 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Prague May 30 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier expressed solidarity with the Lithuanian nation's effort to restore its independence and state sovereignty today, while meeting Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis who arrived here earlier in the day.

Minister Dienstbier stressed the need to solve all questions by dialogue without the use of pressure and force. Mr. Landsbergis appreciated Czechoslovakia's position in assessing the situation in Lithuania and the other Baltic republics and said he hoped his talks in Prague would contribute towards intensifying bilateral cooperation in various spheres.

Meets Havel at Prague Castle

LD3005204990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] President Vaclav Havel met in Prague Castle today with Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the

Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic, who is on a short private visit to Prague at the president's personal invitation. The guest briefed Vaclav Havel on the situation in Lithuania, on the possibilities of its further development, and on cooperation with Latvia and Estonia.

The president repeatedly voiced support for Lithuania's demands for national and state independence. At the same time he recalled the part played by Mikhail Gorbachev in the change in the political situation in Central and East Europe, to which Lithuania also undoubtedly belonged. Both statemen exchanged information on the possibilities for specific cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Lithuania in culture, economics, and politics, and discussed the possibility of the Baltic states taking part in the Helsinki process.

Vytautas Landsbergis and Vaclav Havel sent a telegram to (Vytautas Milvidas), who has been on hunger strike in Vilnius since 26 April for Lithuanian independence, and as a protest against the economic blockade of Lithuania. We admire your determination and courage, the telegram says, and it continues as follows: We believe, however, that you have already done a great service to the cause of the Lithuanian nation, and your abilities and courage will also be necessary in the future in working for the well-being of your people. We therefore beg you to end your hunger strike, Vaclav Havel and Vytautas Landsbergis said in their telegram to (Vytautas Milvidas).

Meets Radical Party Leaders

LD3005203490 Prague CTK in English 1906 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Prague May 30 (CTK)—Leaders of the transnational Radical Party met here today with the visiting Lithuanian president, Vytautas Landsbergis, to tell him that rallies in support of Lithuania's independence were held simultaneously at Soviet diplomatic missions in Czechoslovak and European cities.

Prague TV Interview

LD3005225790 Prague Television Service in Czech 2032 GMT 30 May 90

[Interview with Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis by unidentified reporter in Prague; date not given—live or recorded; monitored in progress; reporter's questions in Russian with Landsbergis responding in Lithuanian fading into translation into Czech]

[Text] [Landsbergis]...My first trip in the new office led to Estonia. This is my second trip, and its reason is very gratifying: an invitation from President Vaclav Havel. I extend my sympathies for Czechoslovakia. [sentence as heard]

[Reporter] Four days ago, President Gorbachev said that Lithuania's withdrawal from the Soviet Union would create a very complex situation. What is your opinion on further steps?

[Landsbergis] President Gorbachev used to say much earlier that he agrees with Lithuania or any other republic withdrawing from the Union of the Soviet Republics but only under his conditions, which he himself dictates, and the conditions are such that they cannot possibly be accepted. Such a procedure is unnecessary for us because Lithuania has never joined the Soviet Union. Lithuania only wants to restore its statehood, restore itself as an independent state and thus to restore the status which it had before her annexation by Stalin in the forties. President Gorbachev does not want to take a step which would mean that the Soviet Union is becoming truly de-Stalinized, and he makes ultimatum demands that we abolish our declaration of independence. It is a very rare occurence when one state demands from another that it abrogate its independence, to which the whole parliament gave its agreement and against which not a single vote was cast.

[Reporter] How do you think the political situation will change now that Boris Yeltsin has become the new president of the Russian Federation? I have heard that he is going to strive to resolve these questions.

[Landsbergis] The political situation is really changing very rapidly. A second political force is now entering the arena in the Soviet Union. The situation is gaining dynamism and becoming more flexible, and therefore more opportunities will present themselves, and the situation in the Baltic states will also be tackled very flexibly.

[Reporter] [words indistinct]

[Landsbergis] They have been up to now received with great understanding. They are determined to overcome all obstacles and difficulties, but the most difficult obstacle is still ahead of us.

[Reporter] And what is the most difficult obstacle?

[Landsbergis] It is the possibility that we shall remain without electricity and that industry and enterprises will come to a halt.

[Reporter] That is all, Mr. Landsbergis, and thank you for the interview.

Dubcek on Soviet Troop Damage, Currency Trade

LD3005095490 Prague Television Service in Czech 2000 GMT 29 May 90

[Report on interview with Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek by unidentified correspondent in Prague on 29 May—recorded; correspondent asks questions in Czech, Dubcek responds in Slovak]

[Text] [Correspondent] Beginning 1 January next year, we will start paying for Soviet goods in convertible currency at world market prices. It is a well-known fact that while Soviet raw materials are almost worth world market prices, our goods so far have not reached that value. Therefore, it can be expected that this type of trade will cause considerable financial problems. We took the opportunity to question Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly, who was in Moscow a few days ago. He had talks there on these questions. Because he had the flu however, we were only able to speak to him today.

If we are to be worse off in some way because of these world prices, is there a chance that the Soviet Union will compensate us for the damage caused by their forces' invasion of our country, the devastation to our countryside, and also for the moral and economic damage, in particular caused by the fact that we were isolated from the economically developed world and we could not develop normal relations?

[Dubcek] I almost think that my answer would concern what happened on our territory as a result of their forces staying here, from an economic standpoint, as far as the soil, buildings, equipment, the ecology, and everything connected with it are concerned. These questions were also discussed in parliament but naturally we did not speak about figures.

[Correspondent] Does this mean that there will be some compensation of a financial nature, that we will get some money?

[Dubcek] This should happen. This question was not dealt with completely once and for all, because in our country there are investigations into this economic damage, which I mentioned earlier, not only to buildings and soil but also to the environment and everything connected with it. This will be cleaned up and it is on the agenda of talks at the government commission level.

[Correspondent] Do you think that this compensation can make up for the damage which will be caused as a result of the transition to world market prices, which we were not able to prepare for in time as a result of the occupation?

[Dubcek] I do not know because we would first have to know the amount of both these costs. This has not yet been evaluated at any level, so it is not possible to speak of compensation. We can say that we will push for it on the basis of our findings on the damage caused and that we are working on it and our organs and institutions will calculate this.

Soviets Turn Down Request for Archives Access

AU3005125690

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 28 May on page 2 carries an 800-word interview with Jan Urban, representative of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center, by Frantisek Lauer entitled "Debate in an Exclusive Society, Also About 1968." The interview, which took place during a Civic Forum election rally in Prague on 27 May, deals with Urban's "lightning visit" to Seoul, South Korea, "last week" to attend a meeting of the "Inter Action Council," an "exclusive society of former heads of state, premiers, and foreign ministers from all continents." Urban says that he and Anatoliy Dobrynin, President Gorbachev's "personal adviser for foreign policy," were invited as "special guests" to report on the changes in Eastern Europe.

The interview includes the following passage:

"[Lauer] Did you take advantage of A. Dobrynin's presence to discuss with him the [Soviet] refusal to hand over to us the document on the invitation of 'fraternal' troops to Czechoslovakia in 1968?

"[Urban] Yes, we spoke about archive materials that would be of interest to us. The reply was quite unequivocal. You may be right, I was told, but we have never, as a matter of principle, given anyone anything from our archives! Therefore, we will hardly be successful this time. This is also why even A. Dubcek failed [during his recent visit to the Soviet Union]."

Membership in Pentagonal Group Viewed Favorably

AU2905123890 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 May 90 p 1

[Petr Kypr commentary: "A Pentagonal Group"]

[Text] Why exactly are we joining forces with unprosperous Yugoslavia and indebted Hungary in order to jointly become a burden on Austria and Italy in the Adria-Danube community, a community which irresistibly conjures up the borders of the old monarchy? Is this not merely a formal megalomaniacal act? Absolutely not. All the participatory states are neighbors; they face common problems in their border territories, in ecology, in communication—for instance, in nationality issues—to say nothing about their economic ties.

The basis for the establishment of the new grouping was, in fact, the existing Alpine-Adria community, the political and economic union of Italy, Yugoslavia, and Austria. Today this pentagonal group is a partial counterbalance to the united Germany, although its interests are mainly internal ones.

Although talks have, so far, only been held at a senior diplomatic level and have mostly been about "noncommercial and noneconomic" affairs, the economic reasons for the establishment of the group are very powerful—enterprises could cooperate with one another even without the blessing of interstate ties, but the political certainty of such an alliance also provides investors with greater assurance. Plans supported by the state are always attractive because they are more carefully considered than normal enterprise; often they are more advantageously financed and are provided with better credit.

If we could make conclusions from the development of similar alliances, mutual transportation opportunities should begin to be developed first of all, although the preliminary information about the establishment of the group did not mention anything about this. This does not merely involve transportation in the border zone, but also involves support for long-distance communications whether these are railroad or highway communications. These automatically generate not only services but also industry around them. We should not rely on the richer members of the group to finance the weaker ones; an alliance in the economic sphere will only be supported by mutual ties and investments. If you have capital, you now know where to invest.

CSFR World Bank Membership by End of Summer

AU3105105790 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 29 May 90 p 3

[CTK report: "When Is Admission to the World Bank Expected?"]

[Text] At the end of last week, an economic delegation from the World Bank concluded its 20-day working visit to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. The results of the World Bank experts' sojourn were incorporated into a short study summarizing their opinions on the state and development prospects of the Czechoslovak economy with recommendations for further proceedings. This is part of the admission procedure for membership of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in this institution. This procedure, according to the representatives of the World Bank, is being rushed through so that by the end of summer all prerequisites for Czechoslovakia's admission will have been satisfied.

New Concept for State Border Protection Outlined

AU3005084890 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 26 May 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Major General Andrej Samel, first deputy interior minister, by Vl. Elis; place and date not given: "Apropos Protecting the State Borders"]

[Excerpts] Colonel Dr. Andrej Samel, first deputy interior minister, was promoted to the rank of major general by the order of President V. Havel at the suggestion of the federal government. On this occasion, we asked him to grant an interview to LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE. [passage omitted]

[Elis] What are you currently dealing with in the department that has been entrusted to you?

[Samel] Recently, a draft concept for a new method of protecting the state borders, a method appropriate to the changed domestic and international conditions, has been discussed. The military protection of our state borders has, to date, been relatively expensive, operationally demanding, cumbersome in many aspects, and has been overtaken by development. A transition to the professional protection of the state borders based on the newly established border police is being considered for the future. This will not involve a hasty and sudden transition, but will involve gradual, step-by-step restructuring on individual sections of the border. At the same time, we have to deal with the situation concerning the current members of the Border Guard and the Interior Ministry troops. A lot of conceptual work awaits us. We are striving to humanize and democratize the troops' lives and service and to establish new training methods for our officers.

A great deal of work and conceptual issues have cropped up in the activity of the Federal Ministry of the Interior Office for Passport Services and Foreign Nationals Administration, primarily in the Office for the Investigation of Anti-Constitutional Activity. The Czechoslovak intelligence service was recently also under my control. Our work is going well, and I am sincerely pleased with it. We also have the complete support of Interior Minister Dr. Richard Sacher, and cooperation among the deputies is operative and trouble- free.

Border Guards Redeployed To Reinforce Police

AU3005143390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 May 90 p 5

[CTK report: "Border Guards Will Reinforce the Police"]

[Text] Prague— In the next few days, approximately 2,700 members of Border Guards and Interior Ministry Troops will reinforce the Public Security Corps. At the Monday meeting of the Defense and Security Committees, Deputy Lis announced that the Public Security Corps do not have as many members as are needed for the protection of citizens' health and property and for the effective maintenance of order.

The legislative committees of both chambers dealt among other things with legal measures amending the law on the elections to the Federal Assembly. According to this amendment, the Local National Committee Council may on the first day move the beginning of the elections from 1400 to 1200, and on the second day from 0700 to 0500.

'Disinformation' Against CSFR Officials Decried

AU3005154490 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 25 May 90 pp 1, 3

[Jan Subert article: "Operation 'Old Order'; the Disinformation Campaign Is To Elevate Easily Manipulated Men"]

[Text] Having gone through the labor pains, the young Czechoslovak democracy will apparently not be able to avoid the difficult test of an extensive, cunningly prepared disinformation campaign. The aims of this campaign are to discredit a number of important figures, to destabilize the post-November regime, and to form the conditions for a succession of entirely new men who—perhaps unknowingly—would slowly turn the political steering wheel in the direction of the old order.

There exists material which attempts to discredit Charter 77. A document was drawn up containing disinformation on economic relations between the Czech and the Slovak Republics. Files on the collaboration of several politicians of the older generation with the German intelligence service and with the Gestapo are ready to be used. A "testimony" charging Civic Forum with crypto-communism is stashed away for future application. Last week, Jan Urban, a representative of the Civic Forum Coordinating Committee, provided journalists with these and many other pieces of information. Of course, it has all been known for some time now. The time is ripe, however, for a public discussion of this phenomenon.

What is it all about? First of all, it is necessary to note that the purpose of the expected discrediting of the renowned representatives of the political and public life is not just to sow the seeds of distrust. The actual goal of this action is the resignation and replacement of several present-day figures, in particular those of the Civic Forum. According to a well orchestrated plan, behind which one can find our old and some foreign structures, second, or even better, third class people should be promoted to their posts. In other words, undistinctive mediocre individuals with whom the possibility would exist of a gradual manipulation back to the old order. Therefore, the entire campaign should utterly complicate the formation of the new parliament and the next government.

Of course, one can raise the question how and who obtained and assembled the compromising documents for disinformation. There were many opportunities. Counterespionage had the whole of December last year to uninterruptedly sort the archives and to obtain all the necessary material. One cannot dismiss the possibility that, as some indications suggest, it was precisely during this time that a disinformation operation took place, which mishandled the data on State Security informants and agents from the citizens' ranks. Many documents could have been removed and replaced by forgeries with names of people beyond reproach.

It was possible to continue with the disorientation and with the collection of the necessary material for another whole month. Counterespionage, as the most important component of the State Security, was dissolved only as of 31 January of this year. Moreover, many high-ranking workers of the former State Security still remained in their posts through the whole of February, March, and April. The Federal Ministry of Interior issued a statement on the sealing of the archives and registers of the State Security containing data on the informers and agents of the counterespionage department. In reality, only the safes in the rooms of the operative agents were secured, while the central archive and register were not. The search for compromising materials in there could happily continue.

Information stemming from the channels of our foreign intelligence service is, in this connection, even more dire. According to this information, which is accessible to the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, important material of our internal counterespionage were intensively exported outside the territory of the republic—specifically to the Soviet Union—as early as in October 1989, i.e., an entire month prior to 17 November. This action was motivated by the correct deduction of the management of the Czechoslovak State Security, which rightly assumed that it would be only a matter of a short time before an attempt would be made to change the regime in Czechoslovakia.

The analysis and subsequent reasoning of the output of further intelligence sources leads, however, to the conclusion that the disinformation campaign in preparation has in its outline been prepared for over a year as a chapter in the strategic plan to discredit Czechoslovak opposition both at home and from exile. According to unconfirmed sources, the entire plan—the action Wedge [Klin] was a part of it—was drawn up in cooperation with the I. and II. administrations of the pre-November Federal Ministry of Interior.

Certain queries remain concerning the dependable list of persons who are to be discredited in the coming days. Accessible sources imply that an attack by fabrications, lies, half-truths, and forgeries against the personalities of the Civic Forum and of almost all the political movements is under preparation. Some deputy ministers of the federal government, the president and his advisers, as well as the persons heading state institutions should become the targets of this attack. It should not, in many cases, concern a disparagement based on collaboration with the former State Security but on episodes from their personal life, the type experienced—let us concede that they might be partially true—by everyone of us and are therefore generally human.

The share of the Soviet KGB is often mentioned in the broad context of the disinformation campaign, the purpose of which should be the succession of persons suitable for a gradual change of course back to the old order. The role of this secret service, however, remains obscure.

Should there be a change of the present Soviet regime in favor of the conservative forces, the situation might be quite different. It is a fact that inside the KGB a perfect linkage existed with our former State Security. Today one can only say with certainty that our former power structures are behind the expected discrediting campaign.

It remains to be said what means, channels, or media should be applied in the disinformation campaign. Everything so far indicates that the simplest and most eligible are those foreign communication media whose reputation and sales depend on the publication of exclusive and sensational material. Information has leaked from some sources that certain facts about persons prominent on our political scene could be published in the magazines STERN and QUICK.

Regardless of the diverse clues, it is not clear whether the campaign abroad will actually be activated. In any case, it would be useful for our public to be informed of its preparations. Only then will we be able to confront it successfully.

Assembly Adopts Election Measures

LD2905210990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] The Federal Assembly Presidium today adopted a legal measure amending and supplementing the election bill. The aim of the amendment is to strengthen the regularity of elections, to ensure all voters to carry out their election right, and to prevent possible misuse of polling cards.

The Federal Assembly Presidium states that the elections are being prepared in harmony with the relevant regulations. However, some shortcomings have emerged. In some places lists of voters have not been compiled or are not published, ballots are being handed over to national committees in insufficient numbers and in poor quality, and their distribution is being insufficiently ensured by national committees.

The Presidium of the Parliament thus appeals to the government, election commission, and national committees to ensure consistent adherence to the law in the course of elections, and asks all citizens to preserve political culture and ethnics.

Candidates' State Security Links To Be Probed

AU3005140290 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 26 May 90 pp 1, 3

[CTK report: "The Interior Ministry on Investigation"]

[Text] The Interior Ministry's press office announces through CTK that on 22 May 1990, the CSFR Government approved the demand made by political parties that their candidates who are running in the upcoming elections be closely questioned about their possible cooperation with the former State Security.

The government ordered the Interior Ministry to meet these demands, provided that candidates will agree to the questioning and that the information will be provided only to the leadership of the pertinent political party.

In view of the fact that this is a serious task which has to be fulfilled in a very short period of time, the Federal Ministry of the Interior deems it necessary to inform the public about basic problems connected with the questioning of candidates. This process —in terms of security organs—we understand to be an inquiry into records to ascertain whether a certain person's name is entered into these records. If the answer is affirmative, the inquirer is referred—using a numeric code—to a workplace or archive, where he can find out why this person is being kept in these records. When investigating the candidates, an inquiry will be made into central records kept by the Federal Ministry of the Interior. These records contain all the individuals in whom the former security organs were interested—or whose file is kept in the archive (for instance, documents pertaining to his criminal investigation)

The Federal Ministry of the Interior does not keep a separate file containing only the collaborators of the former State Security. This means that the inquiry—made into the Federal Ministry of the Interior records alone—cannot instantaneously determine whether a person was a former State Security collaborator. To determine this, it would be necessary to examine the documents kept in the archive or to make contact with the official who had required that the person be kept in the records. The procedure is laborious and time-consuming because materials are not kept in one workplace but in various districts and various Federal Ministry of the Interior archives.

Their evaluation is also demanding. In order to meet the task given by the government and to ensure objectivity and impartiality, Interior Minister Richard Sacher and his deputies, M. Kral and J. Ruml, will designate ministry officials to do the job; nor will the full examination of records guarantee that a certain person did not collaborate with the former State Security. It is evident—based on the established practice—that after cooperation had been terminated, a State Security official determined the time for which the material should be kept in the archive. After this period, the file could be destroyed. The record in the Federal Ministry of the Interior files was also destroyed. When such a person was investigated, the inquirer received a response that this person was not in the records. Over 50 percent of the materials—pertaining to active collaborators—were destroyed by the State Security officials during November and December 1989. Therefore, there can be no absolute certainty as to who was and who was not a collaborator of the former State Security between 1948 and 1989.

The Federal Ministry of the Interior appeals to political parties to proceed very cautiously with the information they obtain. In the eyes of the public the candidates are connected with the political parties which they represent. Publishing their data on their collaboration with the former State Security could be misused to harm the interests not only of the political party, but of the whole of society. It is also necessary to remember that many were forced into collaboration and some collaborated only formally. There are also cases when they did not know of their collaboration. It is also certain that some of our citizens—without any connection to the State Security—were deliberately causing harm to others, for example, by writing anonymous letters.

New Budget Based on Republics Sovereignty Concept

AU3005130990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 May 90 p 2

["(ke)"-signed report: "Strengthening the Role of the Republics' Budgets"]

[Text] Bratislava—As of next year, new budget rules should be applied in the Czechoslovak Federation. The inevitability of these changes became clear during parliamentary discussions in both republics. It is desirable to simplify financial relations within the federation and to arrange them in a better way. Complicated redistribution processes very often cause unjustified national disputes between Czechs and Slovaks. According to information provided by Engineer Lubomir Klimo, candidate of sciences, director of the state budget sector at the Ministry of Finance, Prices, and Wages, the budget next year should be based on the principle of the sovereignty of both national republics. Their self-administration should be pushed through; that is, the responsibility of the governments and parliaments for the development of their territories should be increased. From a budgetary point of view, the republics' budgets will take priority. This means that the federal budget will interfere less in the financial matters of the republics. Work on new budgetary rules ended this month.

Riot Squad Intervenes in Prague Prison Rebellion

AU3005170090 Prague LIDOVE DEMOKRACIE in Czech 29 May p 4

[CTK report: "An Intervention in Ruzyne Prison"]

[Excerpts] Unrest has broken out recently among some of the prisoners detained in Ruzyne Prison in Prague 6. Forty percent of the prisoners have been accused of very grave crimes against life and health. [passage omitted]

The behavior of the prisoners, who caused damage in excess of one million korunas to the prison's facilities, can only be evaluated as the criminal acts of a prisoners' rebellion, frustrating the execution of an official decision, and damaging property. Moreover, a great deal of harm has been done to the health of the other prisoners; one of them has already died as a consequence of being burned. Nor did protracted endeavors to end the rebellion lead to a positive result. A group of the accused refused to come down voluntarily from the roof and, on the contrary, continued their criminal activity. Therefore, after consulting with F. Vlasak, Czech Republic first deputy premier, the Czech Republic prosecutor general, and the CSFR and Czech Republic interior ministers, the Czech Republic justice minister decided that an intervention should be made by a riot control squad. The intervention took place yesterday at 1700 [1500 GMT] without more serious complications. There was no further loss of life and no further injuries were caused.

Poll Shows Public Interested in Elections

LD3005095890 Prague CTK in English 0607 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Prague May 30 (CTK)—Only 10 percent of Czechoslovak inhabitants are disinterested in the parliamentary elections due in June, a public opinion poll which was conducted by the public opinion institute on May 11-17 among a representative sample of 2,004 citizens over 18 from all Czechoslovakia showed.

According to the survey, the pre-election campaign is followed especially on television and in the daily press, and less frequently in radio.

Most of the polled—64 percent—consider the time devoted to the campaign on television and in radio to be adequate, while 16 percent regard it as excessive and 10 percent inadequate. The remaining 10 per cent could not reply or do not follow the campiagn in the two media.

A majority of the population have reservations about the way in which the campaign is waged. Only 16 percent were "entirely satisfied" with its course, while 49 percent had "certain reservations" about the conduct of some parties, 17 percent "do not like the campaign too much" and 8 percent said they were "disgusted" by the situation.

Criticism concerned most frequently the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—39 percent, the Civic Forum or the Public Against Violence political movements—20 percent, the Beer Friends Party—13, the Christian and Democratic Union or the Christian Democratic Movement—10 percent, and some other parties.

Commission Criticizes TV for Civic Forum Bias

LD3005085790 Prague CTK in English 1946 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Prague May 29 (CTK)—The members of Czechoslovak Central Election Commission criticized at its regular meeting here today Czechoslovak TV for favouring the Civic Forum (CF) in its broadcast at the expense of other parties, movements and coalitions standing for the June parliamentary elections.

The programs of Czechoslovak TV are full of propaganda backing the CF and discrediting other parties, especially the smaller ones, the critics said.

Czechoslovak TV director General Jiri Kanturek suggeted in his reponse inter alia that Czechoslovak TV would bring a broader spectrum of information from actions of other parties. However, measures proposed by him were considered insufficient by the commission and the Czechoslovak TV was asked to give all the parties with the exception of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence ten more minutes to broadcast their own election program. The Central Election Commission further demanded televised "round table" debates with repreentatives of all parties.

At the conclusion of its discussion the Central Election Commission approved of the particpation of foreign observers from the U.S.A., Great Britain, a delegation of the Council of Europe and of the European Parliament in the June parliamentary elections.

Commission Upholds Complaint Over TV

LD3005140290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 30 May 90

[Report by (Pavel Hovorka), editor and member of the Central Electoral Commission]

[Summary] The Central Election Commission was in session in Prague yesterday [30 May]. The most topical problem that was discussed was the complaint by certain parties, movements, and coalitions that the Czechoslovak television broadcasting primarily benefited the Civic Forum. Jiri Kanturek, Czechoslovak Television director general, was invited to the session where "he admitted in the end that the live television relay from the rally in Wenceslas Square on 17 May was rightly regarded as a Civic Forum election campaign. On the other hand, he opposed our view and said that it was allegedly difficult to explain to television viewers that the relay should not be included in the broadcast. He, however, promised that the situation would not be repeated before the end of the election campaign. The Central Electoral Commission voted that in order to compensate for this minor offense, Czechoslovak Television should enable political parties and movements, apart from Civic Forum and Public Against Violence, to broadcast on television their own 10- minute contributions in addition to the four hours stipulated by the law. Mr. Kanturek also offered to political parties a four-hour roundtable in television studios on the topics of ecology, national minorities, and economic and social problems."

The Central Electoral Commission has received a list of names of election observers from the Europarliament, the Council of Europe, Great Britain, and the United States, from where as many as 38 specialists are due to arrive. They are to evaluate the fairness of our free elections held after 42 years.

"The commission also recently discussed the complaint by the Slovak Electoral Commission about the broadcast by the Hungarian state television, which directly called on the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic citizens to vote for the political movement Egyutteles and not to vote for other political parties, movements, and coalitions. We gave our support to this protest by the Slovak Electoral Commission and proposed that the Foreign Ministry protest against this broadcast by Hungarian Television. Some Czech members of the Central Electoral Commission even compared this case to the support for Hitler and to the German Henlein movement in Bohemia before World War II."

Commission Addressing Preelection Problems

AU3005135190 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 24 May 90 pp 1,4

[Unattributed report: "Fourteen Days Before the Elections"]

[Text] According to the figures obtained by journalists at yesterday's news conference, there are 11,247,000 voters in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic (7,560,000 in the Czech Republic and 3,687,000 in the Slovak Republic). These figures were obtained before 1 January 1990 and are not final, since anyone who is 18 or older during the election period will be allowed to vote. The number of candidates for deputies to the supreme representative bodies is not final either. A total of 3,604 Federal Assembly deputies are proposed—1,772 to the Czech National Council (however, 24 candidates have withdrawn already)—and 1,107 to the Slovak National Council. This figures can still change—up to 48 hours prior to the elections the candidates can withdraw or the parties and movements can recall them.

Zd. Zahorsky, chairman of the Central Election Commission, stated yesterday that the preelection campaign is being held in an orderly manner except that there is no experience of free elections in our country. There were some "moderate stabbings in the back," he said and he added that there were still some administrative problems. The Central Election Commission, as well as the commissions established in the republics, are making efforts to eliminate these problems in order to ensure really democratic elections under public control—elections which we would not have to be ashamed of in front of foreign observers. So far, four members of the British parliament and a group of 50 Americans have applied to be foreign observers.

The representatives of the Central Election Commission and of the republics' election commissions explained what these problems were. As an example, Zd. Zahorsky said that there were some complaints made by the running parties and movements about their opponents. For example, there was a complaint by the Social Democratic Party (No. 21) against the Civic Forum (No. 7) that the Civic Forum used the events held to commemorate 17 November as its preelection campaign. As far as administrative problems are concerned, I. Prusa, first deputy interior minister, explained that the biggest problems are caused by incorrect data in the central register of citizens (the register was compiled in times which are, fortunately, behind us). This is why it is important that citizens themselves look at the voters' lists—a notice is supposed to be hanging in every house indicating where this list can be found—and to correct inconsistencies, if found. National Committee workers have done a lot of useful work in order to eliminate these problems. According to the investigation conducted, for instance, in Pribram and Prague, they do well.

District commissions were also discussed: There are almost 15,000 of them established in the Czech Republic and over 5,500 in the Slovak Republic. The number of members in these commissions is, most often, from seven to 12, depending on the number of running parties in this district. In order to ensure objectivity, however, no running party can have a majority in such a commission.

On Monday, 4 June, a press center will be opened in Prague's Palace of Culture and Repose where brief programs of the individual parties and movements will be available. The participation of some 1,300 foreign journalist is expected.

Christian Democratic Movement News Conference

LD3005165790 Prague CTK in English 1316 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Bratislava May 30 (CTK)—The Christian Democratic Movement will assert in a new coalition government Slovakia's relative independence and accentuate its economic strengtheining, Czechoslovak deputy premier and chairman of the Council of the Christian Democratic Movement in Slovakia Jan Carnogursky told a press conference here today.

The Christian Democratic Movement is willing to form a coalition with any party or movement in the Slovak Republic, with the exception of the Communist Party, he stressed.

The Slovak Republic should be part of the future European integration, Jan Carnogursky said, and underlined that the Christian Democratic Movement will strive for the abolition of exclusive powers of the federation which prevented the Czech and Slovak bodies from decision-making in the sphere of foreign policy, defence, wage policy etc.

Answering a question concerning the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water dams system on the Danube he said that a quick completion of the project is in the interest both of Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Also present at the press conference was Sir Geoffrey Pattie, deputy leader of the Conservative Party and British M.P., who conveyed greetings from British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to the Christian Democratic Movement.

Carnogursky's Paper Supports 'Fascist Ideas'

AU3005165690

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 29 May on page 3 carries a 500-word open letter from Jozef Brunovsky, chairman of the Slovak Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters, to President Vaclav Havel, entitled "We Protest Against Insults." The letter asks Havel to use his authority to prevent the publication of articles in the Czechoslovak media which "in an offensive manner belittle our struggle for national liberation." Brunovsky refers particularly to a series of articles by Frantisek Vnuk, a Slovak historian living in Australia, which was published by SLOVENSKY DENNIK, daily of the Christian Democratic Movement. In his articles, Vnuk reportedly blamed "Slovak patriots rather than the Nazi occupiers" for "massacres and cruelties against the civilian population" in Slovakia during World War II. Brunovsky writes: "We consider articles of this sort in the newspaper of a movement whose chairman [Jan Carnogursky] even holds the post of deputy premier of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic to be support for fascist ideas and therefore incompatible with the thus far valid laws."

Calfa Interview With Youth Weekly Cited

LD3005103990 Prague CTK in English 0913 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Prague May 30 (CTK)—"We cannot say yet that we live in a democratic country. I do not even consider this year's elections pluralistic and democratic. There was not enough time for democratic institutions and press to develop and for various personalities to emerge", Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa told the Czech youth weekly MLADY SVET.

He described the Czechoslovak Government as a team of bold persons who will not win fame and recognition. He pointed to sociological studies according to which 56 per cent of Czechoslovak citizens are unwilling to tighten their belts. "We shall experience big shocks before reaching normal economy", Marian Calfa said.

Dealing with the changes in the Government Presidium Office since December 1989, he said that chiefs of departments were replaced and reorganization carried out which concerned the whole apparatus as well. Some 100 persons have to leave. The government has launched cooperation with political parties with the aim to gain experts from them. But the situation in Czechoslovakia is dfferent from that in countries with functioning parliamentarian democracies where the opposition has its shadow cabinet with candidates prepared for each post. Czechoslovakia lacks experts of this type and it will take some time to educate them, the Czechoslovak premier underlined.

Finance Minister Describes Economic Reform

LD2805200890 Prague CTK in English 1643 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] Prague May 28 (CTK)—New definition of ownership rights and liberalization of prices are the key elements of economic changes in Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus stressed at a meeting with Charles University students here today.

These changes must be enforced in a sound macroeconomic climate, Minister Klaus went on, and therefore the Czechoslovak Government puts such an emphasis on active budget and on a cautious monetary policy.

"We cannot wait for the establishment of the market and only afterwards liberalize the prices", Minister Klaus said. However, it is necessary to reform the structure of prices immediately and build the market "on the move". Minister Klaus said that social demagogy and strengthening efforts to change Czechoslovakia's constitutional order are a threat to a radical economic reform. These tendencies are also reflected in the struggle for new budget rules. According to suggestions of national governments the budget of the Czechoslovak Federation should be subsidized by the budgets of the republics and the opinion was even expressed that the Federal Finance Ministry was redundant.

On privatization, Minister Klaus stated inter alia that the distribution of property coupons, which would entitle its owner to the purchase of stocks of future state joint-stock companies is the only viable solution. The reason for this is the fact that a home capital market does not exist for the time being.

On financial aid from abroad, Minister Klaus mentioned that Czechoslovak needs will be minimal at the beginning. Later on, however, it will be necessary to have a stand-by loan which will enable to direct the temporary swings of economy. This kind of aid is being discussed now with the International Monetary Fund and the World bank.

Social Democracy Criticizes Economic Reform

LD3005084790 Prague CTK in English 1932 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Prague May 29 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Social Democracy Deputy Chairman Jaroslav Tuma criticized here today the action of the national understanding government in asserting the economic reform, saying that the partial steps the government has taken more or less failed.

Speaking at a press conference of representatives of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party on topical issues, he pointed out that the program of the economic reform had been worked out without having been submitted to the public for discussion and the social democracy thus had no possibility to express its opinion of it. He voiced surprise at the present government announcement of the program for a new government several days before it ceases to exist. The Czechoslovak Social Democrats do not consider the program of restrictions appropriate for the coming period when, according to them, economic recession will set in. The experience from the advanced countries shows that, on the contrary, the state strives to boost economy by granting subsidies. The policy of restrictions can whirl the inflation spiral, the Social Democracy deputy chairman stated, emphasizing that the Social Democrats also consider the planned liberalization of prices by January 1, 1991 an incorrect step. Their idea of transition to the market economy differs as well. The Social Democrats point out that a pure market mechanism does not exist anywhere in the world, and pursue a "social market system".

Speaking about the pre-election campaign of the Social Democracy in the whole of Czechoslovakia, its chairman Jiri Horak expressed satisfaction with it. But the party has some reservations on the day the individual parties and movements present themselves on Czechoslovak television. Results of the pre-election opinion polls published in the mass media are distorted as well, in their opinion.

Asked whether the Social Democracy had demanded the screening of its candidates to the legislative bodies, Jiri Horak said the party had done so already on May 11.

Commenting on the statement concerning the Czechoslovak Communist Party, he said the Social Democracy had not demanded the abolition of the communist party as had been presented in some mass media but an examination of its activities before the elections and, accordingly, a consideration of a possible suspension of its activities.

New Party of Democratic Socialists Leader

AU3005170290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 May 90 p 3

["Announcement" issued by the Secretariat of the Party of Democratic Socialists; place and date not given: "Left-of-Center; The Party of Democratic Socialists Has Not Fallen Apart"]

[Excerpt] The Secretariat of the Party of Democratic Socialists [SDS] announces that, at an expanded session of the SDS All-Slovak Coordinating Committee, the SDS leadership entrusted the well-known Slovak journalist Jan Sekaj, who in the sixties worked for many years as a Czechoslovak Radio correspondent, with the post of SDS acting chairman.

In other words, the resignation of Dr. Igor Cibula [from the post of SDS chairman on 12 April] has not, as backbiters claimed, led to the internal disintegration of the SDS, because the party was not based on the admiration of an individual but on the stable idea of European democratic socialism. The SDS wants to appeal to everyone who feels "left-of-center." Because the party does not participate in the elections, the SDS leadership calls upon all members and backers to support with their votes candidates of the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia and all those candidates appearing on other tickets whose personal attitudes guarantee the formation of a modern left-wing policy within the framework of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. [passage omitted inviting interested persons to SDS meetings]

Civic Forum News Conference on TV Debate

LD2605044890 Prague CTK in English 1853 GMT 25 May 90

[Text] Prague May 25 (CTK)—The Civic Forum has proposed three major items for a prepared televised discussion of political parties and movements: The economic reform, social policy and the ecological reform to be supplemented by the nationality question.

This was said by Ivan Gabal, who took part together with other Civic Forum representatives Petr Kucera and jana Ryslinkova in a press conference here Friday on the forthcoming June parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia.

Petr Kucera also said that the Civic Forum has already handed over its list of candidates to the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry for screening. Its results should be available on June 4.

Answering the question whether the Communist Party bribes voters with 500 crowns each, Petr Kucera said he thinks that though the Communist Party has lost its credit in society it probably has not lost the remains of reason. The party which gives bribes would knock itself out of the game.

He pointed to the significance of the local elections due to take place in the autumn. This was his answer also to the question whether the Civic Forum will be active after the parliamentary elections.

CPCZ Assets, Energy Policy Discussed

AU2505133590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 May 90 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "A Decision on the Communist Party's Assets"]

[Text] Prague—At its session in Prague yesterday [21 May], the Government of National Understanding discussed a report, submitted by the CSFR People's Control Committee, on the results of the enquiry into the amount of real estate owned by the political parties and into how it was acquired. It has become clear from the report that up to 31 December 1989, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] had at its disposal real estate and manufacturing assets worth 9,492 million korunas; this works out to 5,106.80 korunas per member.

The influence of the so-called general agreement that the CPCZ Central Committee concluded with the Federal Ministry of Finance on 3 December 1971 is also substantially reflected in this. According to this agreement, secretariat buildings, departments of political education, training facilities, dormitories, hotels, and printing houses were formally handed over to the state (as was the case after 1954) with the proviso, however, that the CPCZ retained the right to permanent use of these properties. In this way it gained access to the state's financial resources. From 1972 to 1989 the state provided funds amounting to 3,372 billion korunas for the construction and reconstruction of properties which were being permanently used by the CPCZ. The CPCZ had permanent use of 256 properties, whereas the other political parties could only make use of this possibility sporadically—the Czechoslovak Socialist Party had one property for its permanent use, the Czechoslovak People's Party had eight properties, and neither the Freedom Party nor the Democratic Party had any properties at their disposal.

The government stated that the real estate which the CPCZ has at its disposal is, in view of its effective use, inconsistent with the position and role of this party in society and that some of this property is being used illegally. Therefore, the government has approved a decree on the removal of real estate being permanently used by the CPCZ and on its effective utilization.

The government also discussed the course of preparations for the elections; specifically their final phase, when it will be necessary to send polling cards to the voters within the legally determined deadline. This will not happen without widespread cooperation from citizens. Therefore, the government wants to appeal to students, via their organizations, to assist in this decisive part of the preparations for the first free elections and to prevent by their presence—as they did in November—the renewal of democracy foundering on the unwillingness of the old structures to cooperate.

The federal government session was also presented with a draft concept for the state's energy policy, with a proposal for importing oil and natural gas from a wider group of countries, and with a proposal for the adoption of an international undertaking to reduce the amount of nitrogen oxides being emitted over long distances.

When presenting the draft concept for the state's energy policy, the federal minister of fuel and energy stated that a similar document was last discussed in the government 30 years ago.

Czechoslovakia does not have specific programs such as those adopted by Japan and some West European countries after the oil crisis in 1973-74.

Apart from the astronomic and unwarranted expenditure on energy, the catastrophic ecological situation is now also coming onto the scene.

Therefore, it was decided to proceed in several parallel directions. The economy's energy needs will emerge from a key national economic document for the very near future. This involves a development strategy program for the next two years, including a concept for structural changes and a draft industrial, energy, agricultural, and ecological policy, which should be submitted to the federal government on 15 July as a collective achievement with the participation of both national governments. The state Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development will begin working on a program for a radical turnaround from "cheap energy" as it has, to date, seemed to producers and consumers. The Federal Ministry of Fuels and Energy was also set the extremely important task of submitting—before the end of the month—proposals for relieving ecologically burdened Northern Bohemia as quickly as possible by suspending bulk production from a 1,000 MW electric power plant.

One of the other extremely important tasks facing the government is to increase the number of suppliers of oil and natural gas. Czechoslovakia is completely dependent on imports from the Soviet Union which, to date, is very advantageous from the commercial and transportation points of view. The envisaged conversion to world prices and to accounting in convertible currency in relation to the Soviet Union, however, will create a completely new situation and, in a certain sense, will make it easier for us to seek new partners as is normal anywhere else in the world. The most reasonable possibilities are presented by the utilization of the Adria oil pipeline and the TAL [expansion unknown] pipeline, that is, from the south. The minister for foreign trade has been set the task of beginning the appropriate negotiations.

As a means of rectifying past wrongs, the Federal Government decree by which the membership of some members of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences was rescinded for political reasons has been abolished. The government also discussed a Federal Assembly Presidium draft legal measure on the basis of which some properties, essential for the renewal of the activity of monastic orders and ecclesiastical schools, should be returned to the Roman Catholic Church. The draft will be submitted in the very near future after the justified needs of the current users are dealt with.

The federal government also had on its agenda a report on the situation in supplying the population with medicines and health care materials. This report had been submitted to the chairmen of the Czech and Slovak Republic Governments. It stated that the situation is very unfavorable and that there are grave shortcomings which it is necessary to speedily eradicate out of consideration for the population's state of health.

Vyvadil Interviewed on CPCZ Existence

AU3005195090 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 26 May 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Czechoslovak Socialist Party Chairman Jiri Vyvadil by Radka Kvacova; place and date not given: "Was it Democratic?"]

[Text] The declaration of the historical democratic political parties of Czechoslovakia has been much discussed by the public recently. In this declaration, four parties—including the Czechoslovak Socialist Party—appealed to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] leadership, claiming that the CPCZ has no longer any right to act as a separate political force. We have also discussed this problem in our editorial board and, finally, we decided to ask Dr. Jiri Vyvadil, Czechoslovak Socialist Party chairman.

[SVOBODNE SLOVO] Are you not asking, in fact, for the curtailment of democracy?

[Vyvadil] We can discuss whether all the points in the declaration represent the most appropriate method of solving the problem, but we cannot talk about curtailing democracy. Should our declaration be undemocratic, then the November revolution was also undemocratic. Every revolution is based on eliminating the power against which such a revolution took place. With the exception of Spain, the power connected with the prerevolutionary dictatorships has always been eliminated or abolished.

[SVOBODNE SLOVO] We can say, therefore, that the declaration was revolutionary. Was it also democratic?

[Vyvadil] You probably mean a formal democracy. Probably nobody realizes that such a democrat as E. Benes also said—a number of times during the war—that, for example, such a party as Henlein's party should be outlawed. Such a party even got into parliament democratically. After 1945, the Agrarian Party was not reinstated because it evidently had contributed to the republic's break up and had collaborated with the occupiers. Nobody thought, at that time, that this was undemocratic.

[SVOBODNE SLOVO] Do you not think that outlawing this party would not necessarily mean its perishing, since this party knows how to work underground? If somebody wants to work politically, he will.

[Vyvadil] Yes, he can. There are at least three leftist-oriented parties in our political landscape. Members of the abolished NSDAP [National Socialist German Workers Party] joined other parties after the war. It is necessary to say that many of them became democrats later— maybe even the most loyal ones, or at least they appeared to be this way. Maybe they were aware of their mistake and guilt and this helped them.

[SVOBODNE SLOVO] Would it not be better if everyone was allowed to work for a party which he likes, be it only for the reason of knowing who is who and what he wants? This would be more sensible.

[Vyvadil] It would me more sensible, of course. But I believe that this would not be of any good for the communists themselves, not to speak about society. Not long ago there were 1,700,000 communists. This is not a small fraction of the population. Many of them are at a productive age, and we should allow them to use their skills and professional knowledge—which are very often neglected—to the benefit of the whole of society. If there is a Communist Party as an institution, then the potential threat of one-party monopoly remains and leads to the psychosis of hatred.

[SVOBODNE SLOVO] Was the "declaration" a product of such a psychosis?

[Vyvadil] As far as I am concerned, no; on the contrary. Just because I refuse an a priori negative attitude toward the CPCZ members—as well as I refuse an a priori negative attitude toward anyone—I am for abolishing the Communist Party in order to clearly break with the past and to regard the CPCZ members as other ordinary citizens.

[SVOBODNE SLOVO] Despite all this, the Federal Assembly Presidium discussed this declaration, refused the arguments, and gave a logical explanation. Was this not just a great big hullabaloo?

[Vyvadil] Then the declaration made by Dr. Sokol, city prosecutor, would also just be a great big hullabaloo supported by the Civic Forum Coordinating Center. I do not think it was a hullabaloo, because immediately afterward criminal complaints against some CPCZ representatives were lodged, and shortly after that, the government decided on the transfer of CPCZ property to state ownership. I am convinced that the declaration made sense, despite the fact that some intellectual circles in Prague seemed to be surprised and affirmed that the declaration did not make any sense. In the countryside, the people look at this matter differently, since the situation there is different. In many places the communist structures remained intact, and the noncommunists took our declaration as some kind of support. In some places our meetings—meetings of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party—are even being prevented by the communists.

CP Daily Praises Food Price Increase

AU3005154090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 May 90 pp 1, 2

[Vladimir Cechlovsky article: "Setting Distorted Mirrors Right; the Price Must Reflect the Reality of the Costs Involved"]

[Text] One of the topics most discussed by the general public in recent times was no doubt the question what will happen to the food prices. Opinions differed just as much as the rumors and guesses about the effect it will have on citizens varied.

"Absolutely reliable" price lists of a variety of foods circulated beforehand and intricate compensation schemes were also discussed. The Thursday [24 May] session of the federal government brought light to many problems. What is left to say?

It is unpleasant, but necessary, to interfere with the prices of food. These measures could not have been avoided indefinitely. Why?

Subsidy Labyrinth

Food prices in Czechoslovakia are subsidized with 35 billion korunas. The amount of the subsidies itself is not that terrifying. After all, the government receives in turnover taxes 124 billion korunas annually. The problem is that the entire system of negative and positive turnover taxes completely concealed the original basis of the price. Prices of products and services must change so that people would actually pay the cost of whatever they buy and not artificial prices which disorient both the producer and the consumer. From this point of view, the distortion in food prices is substantial. Year after year, the subsidies aimed at preserving the prices kept increasing. Dairy products bore the greatest burden of subsidies (about 14 billion korunas), slaughter and meat products followed (approximately 12 billion korunas), then bakery goods (2.3 billion korunas), and produce (2.2 billion korunas). It seems that the state contributed equally to all citizens. In effect, however, the affluent citizens gained advantage because they could afford the greatest food consumption. The routine subsidizing of growing production costs also caused the companies' bad management policies to shift into the retail prices.

Certainly, no family will rejoice in the increase of prices. The state is not benefiting from this action. If the food price subsidies decline by 27 billion korunas, then the same amount of money is applied in compensation. Everyone of us will receive a contribution in the amount of 140 korunas monthly. Naturally, even with the compensation, the effect on people with a below average income will differ from that on people who make more money. Some are used to eating more meat, some less. Hence, the compensation will not be perfect and absolutely fair to everybody. Such compensation probably could not even be devised.

Be it as it may, the announced prices are still below the level they would reach if the turnover tax would be simply eliminated. This would mean, for instance, that the price of one liter of homogenized milk would not increase to 4.70 korunas but to 6 korunas. Similarly, we would not pay 65 korunas for a kilogram of hind beef but 105 korunas. Why was it not done? There are more reasons. This high price of beef would doubtlessly mean that the less healthy pork meat would dominate our menu. There would be no demand for beef. How could the farmers instantly deal with the problem? Would it be possible to, for instance, export the excess meat?

The government decision to project in the price increases only 27 billion of the total subsidies of 35 billion and to apply the remaining 8 billion to subsidize the agricultural production while concurrently lowering purchasing prices—prices used to buy food from the farmers—seems to be reasonable. Beef does not have to disappear from our menu because of its price, and the farmers will gain an opportunity to change their production structure, and most of all, they will be compelled to lower production costs, because the subsidies mentioned are only temporary.

Increases in prices, particularly regarding the basic goods, are certainly not pleasing anyone. Nevertheless, it is good that the government took these steps. After all, it was unavoidable. We will have to get used to flexible prices. In the final analysis, the present adjustment in prices is only a correction of the most flagrant deformations, and they bring us nearer to the moment when prices will not be dictated by authorities but by the market.

Price Changes in Consumer Goods Announced

AU3005125990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 May 90 pp 1, 4

[CTK report: "Cheaper Electronic Products, More Expensive Cigarettes"]

[Text] Prague—The Federal Price Office announces that, as of 24 May, the retail price for consumer electronic goods will be reduced by 23 percent on average.

For instance, the retail prices for color televisions are being reduced by 17 percent on average, video recorders and players by 21 percent, and black-and-white television sets by 12 percent. Simultaneously with the price reduction in domestic products, the retail prices of imported goods will also be lowered. Further, the rental price of the Multiservis and Interservis companies will be lowered.

The objective is to bring the price level of domestic and foreign products to the price level that is usual in developed industrial countries.

As of the same date, the retail prices for cigarettes are being raised by 25.6 percent on average, cigars by 16.5 percent, and cigarette and pipe tobacco by 35.2 percent.

The objective of the price increases is to fight against smoking.

Study Claims Czech Lands Subsidize Slovakia

AU2805192990 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 25 May 90 p 1

["ph + vrz"-signed report: "What the Budget Would Look Like"]

[Excerpt] Prague—Members of the Czech National Council Planning and Budget Committee yesterday discussed the government- sponsored draft law on the rules of management with budgetary funds of the Czech Republic.

J. Nikodym, minister of finance, prices, and wages, said about the draft law: "The rules have been discussed in the Financial Council (organ of the Ministry of Finance and the Czechoslovak State Bank). There exist certain differences of opinion on their concept."

The task of the Financial Council is to bring these opinions into line. The aim is clear: to establish a just economic system, in which the republics would live mainly off resources generated on their territories.... "On no account is it in our interest to weaken the role of the federation in securing a uniform financial, currency, and budget policy. We do not want to go so far as to force the 'budget of the federation' to haggle with the republics about every koruna," J. Nikodym said. The deputies were presented with an interesting study showing what this year's budget would have looked like had it been construed according to the new rules of management with budget resources. The revenues of the budget of the federation would have been reduced from 137 billion [korunas] to 15 billion and its expenditures from 76 billion to 69 billion. The difference of 54 billion (69 minus 15) would have been defrayed proportionately by the two republics, with two-thirds coming from the Czech budget and the rest from the Slovak budget. The Czech treasury would have then showed a surplus of 22 billion while the Slovak treasury would have had a deficit of 2 billion. [passage omitted]

Czech Committee Discusses Administrative Reform

LD2605105390 Prague CTK in English 1826 GMT 24 May 90

[Text] Prague May 24 (CTK)—The Czech National Council Committee for National Committees and Nationalities today discussed restructuring of local administration which was largely affected by the former centralistic directive system and strongly criticized by citizens.

The current three-level sytem of local management is to be replaced by a two-level one, i.e. regional national committees will be abolished by December 31, 1990, and a system of effective local self-governing bodies should be built.

Chairman of the Moravia-Silesia Society Boleslav Barta proposed in his address to form a system of federal countries, i.e. Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia. In his opinion Czechoslovakia's future name should be in the Czechoslovak Federal Republic and the Czech National Council should be divided after the June parliamentary elections into the Czech and Moravian-Silesian (respectively the Moravian and the Silesian) parliaments.

The proposals for the future constitutional set-up of the country will be dealt with also by the supreme legislative body of the Czech Republic after the elections.

The proposals for the future constitutional settlement of the country will be further analyzed by the supreme legislative body of the Czech Republic after the elections.

Former Presidium Member Hangs Himself

AU2905115690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 May 90 pp 1, 2

["(ZR)"-signed report: "A. Kapek Commits Suicide"]

[Excerpt] Prague—On Wednesday [23 May] morning, Antonin Kapek, former member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, was found dead in the cottage belonging to his daughter in the village of Svinna in the Rokycany District.

We have managed to ascertain that A. Kapek was here with his sister-in-law and her husband. They found him hanged in the cottage. According to preliminary enquiries, death occurred between 0200 and 0600. No traces of involvement by anyone else have, so far, been discovered. The whole incident is being investigated by an investigator from the National Security Corps District Administration in Rokycany. [passage omitted on Kapek's biography]

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

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Diestel Further Tasked With Disbanding Stasi

LD2605112490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1637 GMT 24 May 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Interior Minister Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel has been given the task of setting up a governmental commission in connection with the further disbanding of the former State Security. This emerges from a statement by the Interior Ministry conveyed to ADN today [24 May] on a relevant government decision of 16 May. [passage omitted]

The statement put out by the Interior Ministry press office further says that the committee formed in February, on the disbandment of the Ministry for State Security Office for National Security will be under the deputy prime minister and interior minister. "Thus it is clearly settled that the solution of this difficult and sensitive task is a priority concern of the entire Council of Ministers, and that Dr. Diestel did not have the main responsibility for disbanding the former Ministry for State Security Office for National Security. Above and beyond this the decision lays down the responsibility of other ministers for dealing with the whole problem." The interior minister is obliged by the decision to solve this task in accordance with the principles of the state in accordance with the law. For this reason it has been laid down that the archives referring to people of the former Ministry for State Security Office for National Security are closed as a matter of basic principle in the interests of data protection, and thus the personal rights of those concerned and other citizens named in them are unclear. Inspecting these records and archives is reserved for the People's Chamber's parliamentary investigative committee.

It is also announced in the statement that Minister Diestel has asked FRG experts led by Dr. Einwag, the federal officer for data protection, for assistance as assessors.

Diestel on Resignation Calls, State Security

AU2705200690 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 26 May 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel by Manfred Schell; place and date not given: "If One Falls, the Others Will Fall as Well"]

[Text] During the past week, the interior minister came under fire because of his personnel policy. He tumbled, but finally reconsolidated his position. Peter-Michael Diestel considers this a "campaign," aimed at delaying German unity, and even at establishing a left-wing government in East Berlin. In an interview with DIE WELT, Diestel commented on the allegations leveled against him, on the current security situation in the GDR, and on the jungle of the former state security system.

Apart from the prime minister, Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel (38), probably assumed the most difficult position that had to be filled after the first free elections in the GDR on 18 March. One must bear this in mind when analyzing this man, whose political home is the German Social Union [DSU]. His desk stands in the old Interior Ministry in East Berlin, 34-38 Mauerstrasse Street. It is a sinister looking building, both inside and outside. One may easily lose one's orientation in the ministry's endless corridors and staircases. With five or six close aides and a handful of advisers from the FRG, Diestel heads the huge apparatus. The People's Police numbers 115,000 members, including a considerable number of former members of the Stasi state security system, as Diestel points out.

Also in organizational terms, Diestel has to find his way through a jungle. In this huge ministry, not only the schedule of responsibilities, but also the organizational plans are a secret. The employees have grown up in the spirit of keeping everything secret from each other. The files, including the ones that originate from the part of the State Security Ministry that was incorporated in the Interior Ministry, "are under lock and key." They must be dealt with now. "I know that I am sitting on bombs." As a matter of fact, Diestel only took over a small part of the staff of State Security Minister Mielke, who used to employ 85,000 people on a full-time basis and 105,000 persons on a part-time basis. This is often being overlooked. Over 6,000 former employees of the State Security Ministry, for example, are members of the Border Guards of the National People's Army, which belong to the ministry of his colleague Eppelmann.

Diestel was (no longer) depressed that day. He was depressed when he left the plane on which he arrived from Moscow, and heard about the resolution of his party calling for his resignation. After his return to Berlin, he had a conversation with Premier de Maiziere. In his capacity as deputy head of government, he headed a session of the Council of Ministers. He received a flood of letters of sympathy.

We talked for about two hours. Diestel wants "to go through this," talk with his colleagues in the People's Chamber Group, and convince them of his policy. He enjoys De Maiziere's confidence. Diestel sees a "campaign," aimed at himself and at "bringing about the fall" of the De Maiziere government. "Because if one falls, all the others will fall, as well." And "if this government is forced out, there will be no state treaty, then German unity will be put back a long way, and then a left-wing government will be established here."

However, can one stand up against one's colleagues in the People's Chamber Group? In Bonn this would be inconceivable. Diestel explained it this way: "What is going on here is not known in your country. In Bonn I would be dead politically. Not in this country. Here, different laws prevail in politics during the first phase of democracy." Numerous friends in the FRG, including friends from the Christian Social Union, and many others encouraged him and gave him advice for the future. The Christian Democratic Union in Bonn "did not put a stick in the spoke of his wheels either." Even in the West there is growing understanding "that I cannot simply let rip and cut off the heads of all the generals, colonels, and lieutenant colonels and then give theologians the task of fighting crime. This simply is not possible. Structures must be changed. This needs time," Diestel stressed. One must not demand "the impossible" from him. One must bear in mind that "every GDR citizens is affected in one way or another, either as a victim or a perpetrator, or as a contact..."

However, Diestel now knows that he also made mistakes. In addition, the media assessed decisive issues in a wrong way, including his attempts to establish contact with the former intelligence chief in the State Security Ministry, Markus Wolf. What did he want from Wolf? Diestel: "I did not want Wolf as an adviser but as a witness. With his knowledge, one might unravel the structures of a criminal surveillance system that is unparalleled worldwide." He tried to bring this about, but Wolf declined. If there is "material" in the West on Wolf, "then it should be handed over to us." Then we will decide whether Wolf violated any laws and whether he will be imprisoned."

The impact of the news that about 2,350 former Stasi members were working in the domain of the Interior Ministry was also fatal. Meanwhile, extensive investigations that have been carried out on Diestel's orders revealed that their total number is about 3,450, and that they are distributed all over the country. Diestel has since stopped employing former Stasi members. "With the exception of 135 persons, these persons, none of whom had had a leading position, were hired as specialists for tasks for which the police was actually responsible, such as the protection of persons and the fight against terrorism. They were hired prior to my taking office by the representative of the Modrow government, the social democrat Brinksmeier, to work for the Interior Ministry and for subordinate authorities for one year as probationers. We will examine every one of them and try to remove them from their positions through structural changes."

The fact that the theologian Brinksmeier insisted on hiring these persons may have been a reason for not installing him as state secretary in the Interior Ministry. However, was it not a mistake to appoint the former police chief of Chemnitz, Peter Mueller, instead, who was a member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and who had been confronted with reproaches? Diestel: "Mueller asked me Tuesday to relieve him from his duties until the incriminating allegations are clarified. I agreed."

The following figures show how difficult it is for the interior minister to do his job: About 90 percent of the policemen were SED members—had to be SED members. A total of 100 percent of the public prosecutors were comrades and 95 percent of the judges.

Diestel spoke of a "tightrope walk" that he has to do in his position. On the one hand, he considers himself to be a internal security minister, who "is at the disposal of the citizens with the police." The police "must know that they are working for a different state now. I am telling the policemen that they should win the confidence of the young democracy, that they should support it." He wants a police "that is close to the citizens."

Diestel stated that he is concerned about the current "security situation" in the GDR. "There have been large-scale arms thefts. In addition, about two weeks ago we had an enormous theft of explosives in Jena-Land Kreis from a military base. The persons who committed the theft had an excellent knowledge of the site and of the situation. The concentrated charges for 400 large-scale explosions were stolen." Diestel does not totally believe there was a terrorist background. "The theft must have been carried out by persons who know the site very well." Diestel acted immediately, offering a reward of 10,000 East marks—which is probably unique in the GDR's history. The criminals were also familiar with the lack of discipline among the National People's Army. Parts of the Army "no longer know what they have because of the disorder."

Diestel was criticized for arranging a safety cordon around the parliament during the People's Chamber session. "What shall I do, knowing about such large-scale thefts of explosives and weapons? In addition, there were specific threats of murder. Our young democracy must not be endangered by criminals." Who does he think are the perpetrators? The interior minister replied: "I suspect that they are former members of the State Security Ministry who have no prospects whatsoever." He knows that former members of the State Security Ministry have met for "comrade meetings." Diestel: "They certainly do not only discuss the Federal League."

As far as the former state security system is concerned, Diestel follows a path in accordance with the law. He fears that there is a "dangerous potential" there. "Only the courts can determine who is a criminal," Diestel stressed. "The whole system was criminal. This is no contradiction. However, I cannot declare every former employee of the State Security Ministry a criminal. Moreover, one must bear in mind that they also have families, women, and children."

How does he want to deal with the phenomenon of the State Security Ministry and with the injustice that was committed by this ministry? Diestel pointed out that there are several aspects: The persecution of criminal offenses, reparation and rehabilitation, and the protection of personal data and of the personal rights of those directly affected and of all persons whose names are mentioned in files. One file may contain up to 50 such names. "I can assure the public that the files are under lock and key now."

However, he does not know how much has already reached the West or Moscow. "Criminal offenses must be made up for and persecuted." Every citizen has the possibility of reporting his "tormentors." These reports will then be dealt with in a trial based on the rule of law.

By pursuing this path, Diestel wants to win the confidence of all sides, and to contribute to "pacification." He will not be deterred from this way, Diestel stressed. Choosing a different path would mean "excluding a large part of the GDR's population."

"We achieved top performances in two areas: In sports and in the sphere of secret services. The latter is like a millstone around our necks from which we are trying to liberate ourselves now," Diestel stated.

FDP Supports Demand for Diestel Resignation

LD3005123790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1141 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—the FDP [Free Democratic Party] has called on the People's Chamber to appoint a parliamentary committee of inquiry in connection with the dissolution of the State Security Ministry. The relevant citizens' committees, which existed up until now, should continue to be involved in this task. This emerges from an FDP press statement today [30 May].

At the same time the party supports the demand of the DSU [German Social Union] parliamentary group for the resignation of Interior Minister Diestel. His attitude toward the former Stasi officials is seen as increasingly lacking understanding in broad circles of the FDP and the population. This area of the Interior Ministry's responsibility, which requires particularly sensitive treatment, needs in their opinion the support of the population. The inclusion of former high-level Stasi officials must thus inevitably cause mounting disquiet.

Diestel Sues DSU Colleagues for Slander

AU3105084690 Hamburg BILD in German 31 May 90 pp 1,3

[Interview with Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel by Peter Brinkmann; place and date not given: "GDR Minister Sues Party Colleagues"]

[Text] [Brinkmann] Deputies of your own party group have accused you of having cooperated with the State Security Service in the past....

[Diestel] This is correct, such accusations exist. I have had my lawyer Dr. Wolf sue these party colleagues of mine for slander.

[Brinkmann] Are you now resigning from your post because the group of the German Social Union [DSU] has again requested it?

[Diestel] No. I have an assignment to fulfill. I will not let myself be dissuaded from this, not even by my party group. There is only a contradiction between the DSU group and the DSU interior minister, not between me and the DSU as a party.

[Brinkmann] Will you leave the DSU?

[Diestel] If the problems remain—yes. Either harmony can be achieved or I will leave.

[Brinkmann] Then you would be a nonparty minister.

[Diestel] Correct.

[Brinkmann] Which party would you then join?

[Diestel] None as long as I am minister. This is not permited by the election law. I would have to resign from my seat as a deputy.

[Brinkmann] Article 23 is again being discussed as some sort of "emergency brake" in the unification process. What do you think about that?

[Diestel] After 1 July social relationships will be shaken up quite strongly.

[Brinkmann] What does this mean?

[Diestel] It might lead to speeding up accession.

[Brinkmann] Thus, Article 23 as early as July, before the summer recess of the People's Chamber?

[Diestel] This would be fantastic, of course, but I do not believe this.

Markus Wolf Against Creating Scapegoats

AU3005091590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 May 90 p 2

[ADN/ND report: "...Not Creating a Scapegoat of the Nation"]

[Text] East Berlin—According to an ADN report, Markus Wolf, the deputy head of the former State Security Ministry, believes that the Stasi state security system has been slashed, and that in this way the GDR intelligence apparatus has also been dissolved. Only "unreliable media reports" are claiming that structures of the former State Security Ministry still exist and that its activities still continue. He will do everything to stop such activities, if they should really exist. Despite the recent "critical situation," he agrees with Interior Minister Diestel: "If the Stasi problem is not solved now, it will be a burden in the future."

Wolf considers the dissolution of the intelligence service to be some form of disarmament, even if under completely unequal conditions: "As a matter of fact, the

Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution [BND] has not completely stopped its activities." He believes "that the BND is certainly still active on GDR territory."

Wolf rejects the figures that have for years been published by the Western press; namely, that up to 4,000 agents are active in the FRG and West Berlin. "The number of agents was never the primary aspect for us. Our motto was: We need somebody at the NATO headquarters, in the CIA leadership, in the BND, or in a place where the latest weapons are being developed. Only a few top agents are needed for this."

"I worked for 33 years as a general for the state security system, and I am prepared to assume responsibility for the time until I left my office four years ago. However, I am against making the entire former Stasi staff, irrespective of what they did, the scapegoats of the nation." This was stated by Wolf, who will most probably go down in German history as one of the most successful leading officials in the State Security Ministry. In the interest of the former staff, he wants to support their rights now. Every allegation and every offense must be examined by independent authorities, it will have to be examined who was responsible for what, and justice must be done to those involved. New thinking is also required in this sphere, particularly when dealing with those who think differently.

"In the interest of internal peace on the path toward a united Germany," it is necessary that the arrest warrant issued against him by the FRG, because of espionage activities, be quashed. Federal Public Prosecutor Kurt Rebmann does not share this view. He is "bound by law to prosecute criminal offenses that have been committed." He wants to fulfill this duty by arresting Wolf. Rebmann cited "severe offenses against the external security of the FRG" in this connection. For Wolf this means that all who served under CIA chief Bush "would be liable to prosecution according to the legal provisions of our country or of other states." As a matter of fact, Wolf considers the "defection" of some former Stasi members to the West to be punishable behavior. "Activities of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution are involved here. Up to seven digit sums are being offered for the disclosure of names."

Former Leaders Transferred to Police Hospital

AU2805093090 Hamburg BILD in German
28 May 90 p 4

[Excerpt] The old heads of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany are meeting again today [28 May] in the People's Police hospital in East Berlin. Erich and Margot Honecker, Mielke, Mittag, Stoph, and Axen are being examined in the hospital at No. 13 Scharnhoststrasse, immediately behind the Wall. The doctors are to find out who can be put on trial (for high treason, embezzlement of people's property) and who is fit to undergo detention. [passage omitted]

All Streets Between Berlins To Be Clear 2 Jul

LD3005162790 Hamburg DPA in German
1532 GMT 30 May 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—If things go according to the plans of the GDR Government, all streets between East and West Berlin are to be cleared and made passable starting 2 July for the first time since the construction of the wall in 1961. In order to carry out the further demolition of the wall, the GDR Government will have to rely on help from western firms, government spokesman Mathias Gehler said today [30 May] after the cabinet session in East Berlin.

In exchange for clearing away the wall and obstructions without charge, western firms could "do full honor" to their names and then certainly have the pieces of wall for free, Gehler said with a grin. [passage omitted]

59 Percent Favor Slower Unification Pace

AU3105095590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 May 90 p 3

[ADN report: "59 Percent in Favor of Slower Unification"]

[Text] Leipzig—Nearly three-quarters of all GDR citizens consider themselves to be Germans. This has been revealed by a an opinion poll carried out by the Leipzig Cental Institute for Youth Research in May. Five months ago, 77 percent still stated that they consider themselves to be "GDR citizens." Since November 1989, the tendency toward support for German unification has continued. There are differing views concerning the timetable of German unity: 41 percent would like it to be implemented before the end of this year, whereas 59 percent favor a slower pace.

Parties Discuss Merger With FRG Sister Parties

AU3005161690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 May 90 p 1

[ADN/ND report: "GDR Parties Discuss Merger With FRG Sisters"]

[Text] East Berlin—GDR parties are increasingly discussing the merging with their sister parties in the FRG. Whereas the timetable for a merger seems to be clear for the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], the SPD in the East and West are still discussing the pros and cons.

On Monday [28 May], the East CDU announced that the party's 17th congress, scheduled to take place on 28-29 September, will be the last congress of the East CDU before the merger with its sister party. CDU Vice Chairman Horst Korbella stated that the merger will be brought about in the near future. Secretary General Martin Kirchner stressed that, for legal reasons, a merger is not possible before state unity is achieved. However, the CDU Congress in September will presumably elect the delegates to the first all-German CDU congress.

The chairman of the People's Chamber Group of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] pointed out that merging the West and East German SPD at this point would mean "putting a great deal of time pressure on ourselves." The party's leading bodies have not yet discussed this topic. Gottfried Timm, who has good chances of becoming SPD chairman, stressed that the date of the merger depends on the date of all-German elections. Unification must take place at least four months prior to this date or even earlier.

According to an SPD press release, the Executive of the GDR SPD, at a meeting on Monday [28 May], spoke in favor of holding a special congress in Halle on 9 June. There were discussions recently among the party in favor of canceling the party congress at which the chairman is to be elected and of holding a congress in the fall to merge the parties.

The German Forum Party also announced on Monday that it will participate in the merging congress of the four German liberal parties.

SPD Accepted as Full SI Member

AU2905180490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 May 90 p 3

[ADN/ND report: "GDR's Social Democratic Party of Germany Was Accepted as Full Member of the Socialist International"]

[Excerpt] Cairo—During an international news conference at the close of the council meeting of the Socialist International (SI), SI President Willy Brandt announced that the GDR's Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], as well as the social democratic parties of Bulgaria and the CSFR have been granted the status of full members. Acting SPD chairman and GDR Foreign Minister Meckel stressed at the council meeting that NATO and the Warsaw Pact must be transformed into "more politically-oriented organizations, which should develop into an all-European security system." [passage omitted]

De Maiziere To Meet Belgian Premier, Delors

LD2905153790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1503 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Premier Lothar de Maiziere is expected for a two-day visit to Brussels on Thursday afternoon [31 May]. He will be there at the invitation of Jacques Delors, EC Commission president, government spokesman Matthias Gehler announced on Tuesday. In the evening on the day of his arrival, De Maiziere will meet with Belgian Premier Wilfried Martens.

On Friday, talks are planned with EC Commission representatives on the external and internal aspects of Germany unity and on economic cooperation between the European Community and the GDR. According to Gehler, the agriculture, ecology, and transport sectors will be discussed, among other things.

Minister Jeszenszky on Warsaw Pact, EC

AU2505172790 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 25 May 90 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky by Tibor Fenyi and Peter Martos; place and date not given: "There Is Only One United Europe"]

[Text] [DIE PRESSE] In view of its forthcoming admission to the Council of Europe, the new Hungarian Government, which was sworn in on Wednesday evening [23 May], is striving for EC membership in approximately 10 years, if possible as a neutral state like Austria. How will the new foreign minister act under these general conditions?

[Jeszenszky] The basic prerequisite for full membership in the EC is the restructuring of the economy. The country can only benefit from full membership if it "holds its own" in international competition. At present, it would be a disadvantage for Hungary if, as the result of some miracle, the EC were to say: Walk into the common market.

In addition to many other shortcomings, it is one mistake of CEMA that it made any kind of indolence possible because anything could be sold without any innovation. Deterioration in quality was even promoted. For example, people driving Soviet Ladas in Hungary always found when they changed their cars that the new car was worse than the old one. This CEMA system drove the countries ever further into crisis.

We have to reduce the protective mechanisms that still separate Hungary from the free market today and expose the country to the influences that compel an economic reform.

[DIE PRESSE] You said: CEMA has shortcomings. But it continues to exist. What will Hungary do: leave it or wait until CEMA dies?

[Jeszenszky] No matter what, CEMA must be replaced by agreements that put mutual trade on a different basis. In my opinion, integration, which has been repeatedly mentioned, never worked.

[DIE PRESSE] What will the future be like?

[Jeszenszky] We have to develop trade with the neighboring states, by all means, but with real prices with fully convertible currencies, as will be introduced with the Soviet Union at the turn of the year. I believe that the organization can also be maintained if somebody likes this. However, the barter system, which facilitated the exchange of goods, on the basis of unrealistic prices, must be abolished in any case. It is decisive that enterprises do business with each other on the basis of market economy.

In the long run, not only Hungary and the other small CEMA states want to become EC members. There is also the claim of the Russians that they belong to Europe. Thus, dealing too much with CEMA is not worthwhile.

[DIE PRESSE] In contrast to the CEMA question, the new government aims at leaving the Warsaw Pact. When does the foreign minister want to enter into negotiations with the Soviet Union?

[Jeszenszky] The topic will be immediately brought up during the first meeting with Soviet representatives. However, I think it is important to stress that this is an affair for all the Warsaw Pact states. One can certainly only strive for an appropriate decision when all these countries have a freely elected government, which is not yet the case. We do not want to put off anything; we believe that the summer is precisely the right time to rearrange the ranks.

The call on Hungary to immediately come to a decision sounds nice; but if we were to leave immediately, this would neither be internationally secured—at present, the Warsaw Pact is valid until 2005—nor improve our image. Even if we take the completely correct view that the juridical position of the 1956 revolution government is valid—at the time, the intention to withdraw was voiced—we have to adhere to international practices. Financial circles rightly say that Hungary has to observe its commitments, even if they were contracted by an illegitimate government.

[DIE PRESSE] How much will the new government take Soviet objections into account?

[Jeszenszky] Although there is no longer a neurosis in the Moscow leadership, I believe that we should also take these considerations into account. I would like it best if serious negotiations on the creation of a pan-European security system within the CSCE framework were to start simultaneously with the negotiations on our withdrawal. In this way the Warsaw Pact would become superfluous. The two things can even accelerate each other.

[DIE PRESSE] Hungary can probably only apply for EC membership if it is no longer a Warsaw Pact member. What status will Hungary have then?

[Jeszenszky] The proclamation of neutrality in 1956 was absolutely right, but the question is whether today—without a war or a cold war—the same step is necessary. If there is a collective security system without military blocs, the proclamation of neutrality will be superfluous: In the 19th century, with which I dealt specifically as a historian, the status of being not a pact member simply was not specified.

[DIE PRESSE] What are the new government's ideas about regional cooperation in the 10-year period in which the country will move from the East Bloc toward the EC?

[Jeszesnsky] We emphasize the importance of regional cooperation in the program of my party, the Democratic Forum, as well as in the government's policy statement. A large number of such forms of cooperation can be created. However, this is not an alternative to connections with Europe. The point cannot be to develop

Europe or Central Europe; there should be a united Europe in which there is also regional cooperation.

[DIE PRESSE] You warned against the image of somebody who breaches a contract. In Austria, the Nagymaros construction stop is sometimes called a breach of contract. There is another major project: the world exhibition...

[Jeszenszky] I am personally a declared adherent of the world exhibition. It would accelerate all the measures that cannot be postponed, and they are regarded as basic prerequisites for this event—ranging from the renewal of the traffic system via a total change of the infrastructure and the "cleanup" in the whole country to the reduction of the burdens for the environment. The deadline 1995 means a positive challenge. There will be either a world exhibition or nothing at all in this country.

As regards the exposition, we do not want a megalomaniac mammoth project, but one that presents the existing values and beautiful features in a new framework. Undoubtedly, the new government will decide in favor of it and strive for an agreement with the opposition critical of the exposition.

[DIE PRESSE] The previous government achieved its only successes in foreign policy. What new elements of this foreign policy do you want to stress?

[Jeszenszky] I do not want to doubt that the Hungarian foreign policy was successful, although this only applies to the past one and a half or two years. In reality, the government which has just resigned fulfilled the demands of the opposition and thus acted in accordance with the people's wishes, for example, as regards the sovereign minority policy, opening for refugees, the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel and South Korea, etc.

The point is not to continue or change the policy of the communist government, but to represent our policy now as a government. We want to establish closer ties with Europe, to solve the question of the Warsaw Pact in agreement with the Soviet Union, and to further improve the relations with our neighboring states. In this context, we want to cooperate as closely as possible with the peoples and to improve the situation of the Hungarian minorities living there.

To Discuss Withdrawal in Moscow

LD2805074690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] Foreign Minister Jeszensky has received an official invitation from the Soviet Union, where he also wishes to discuss our withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. Geza Jeszenszky said this in an interview he gave to the Japanese paper ASAHI SHIMBUN. As he said, in the near future he will begin discussions about secession with other member states of the military alliance. According to the leader of Budapest diplomacy, there is also a need to begin a serious exchange of views about a new European security system as well.

Speaking about the Baltics, Geza Jeszenszky said he supports their demands for independence, but, in his view, an official declaration of assistance would not be good for the three states.

Holds News Conference

LD2605092790 Budapest MTI in English 1944 GMT 25 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—In implementing its foreign policy aspirations the new government can in all certainty build on results achieved by the former government.

The government now taking office expresses thanks for the staff of the Minisry of Foreign Affairs for their contribution to the peaceful political transition, Geza Jeszenszky, newly appointed foreign minister of the Antall government said at a Friday [25 May] conference of the Minisry's staff.

The new minister took the opportunity of the first meeting with the staff primarily to dispel anxieties regarding the new government, and denied rumours about the "clean up" of ministries.

"Those who performed their duties in the interest of the nation's cause, have nothing to be anxious about. Renewal efforts of the government are aimed at freeing public administration institutions of persons obstructing work, by trying to assert outdated concepts." Regarding the staff, Mr Jeszenszky said the ministry needs everyone who aims to build the future of Hungary.

Tamas Katona, political state secretary of the Ministry, was also introduced on Friday. Mr Katona, who exchanged the vocation of a historian to politics reiterated that the ministry continues to count on its highly qualified experts.

Foreign Affairs Committee on Pact Withdrawal

LD2905113890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 29 May 90

[Peter Zentai report from closed session of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] The subject is sensitive, I propose that we hold a closed meeting, said Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Gyula Horn, accompanied by rapid noddings from MP's [Members of Parliament] from the government coalition and the Socialist Party. This had decided the fate of the reporters, so I am now talking to you from one of the corridors of parliament, but not without something to report. During the break, I have learned the following:

Lieutenant General Kalman Loerincz, chief of staff of the Armed Forces, tried to convince the Foreign Affairs

Committee of the disadvantages for Hungary that could follow from an immediate, unilateral withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. The lieutenant general was said not to be influenced by the fact that those who are suggesting withdrawal from the Pact are proposing first of all the beginning of negotiations. This was outlined with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, given abroad and published in today's [29 May] NEPSZABADSAG. In spite of all this Kalman Loerincz was only stressing the dangers; if we leave the Pact, there will be no armament, and no replacement of spare parts for the Hungarian Army. What we must therefore try to achieve is the change of the Warsaw Pact from a military to a political organization.

The MP's have heard, it was said to be for the first time, that according to a protocol that is to expire at the end of this year, in the case of extraordinary circumstances [as heard] Hungary is compelled to place 100,000 soldiers under the direct command of the central command of the Warsaw Pact, so 100,000 Hungarian soldiers are to obey mainly Soviet commanders.

Behind closed doors, the committee is currently waiting to learn what the Warsaw pact command and Moscow regard as extraordinary circumstances.

Pact Discussion Continues

LD2905175190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Without the assent of the president of the republic and the premier, the Hungarian Army cannot withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. This is what Peter Zentai has learned, from the closed session of the [National Assembly's] Foreign Affairs Committee. You will hear the details from him.

[Begin Zentai recording] Can the Warsaw Pact headquarters order the Hungarian Army to do anything? According to indications, this was the most popular issue at today's [29 May] session of the Foreign Affairs Committee, according to indications, says the reporter, because he has only indirect information at his disposal. Owing to the sensitiveness of the topic, the journalists were asked to leave the room at the very beginning.

However, I learned from some participants, during an interval in the session, that in the event of an extraordinary situation, Hungary is obligated to place 100,000 soldiers at the disposal of the Warsaw Pact. At this, the participants in the committee session became somewhat nervous, and bombarded the guest speaker, Lieutenant General Kalman Lorincz, with questions.

During the second half, the following points were clarified, or at least the following leaked out: If a situation is judged, in the Warsaw Pact's political and military consultative organs, to be extraordinary, then the leaders of the member states must be informed of this. Therefore, in the case of Hungary, the president of the republic and the government cannot be omitted from the decision-making procedure. The president of the republic could veto the pull out of 100,000 Hungarian soldiers from under the national command. In any event, the protocol that regulates the collaboration of the Hungarian Army in extraordinary situations will expire this year, and it supposedly emerged from the words of Kalman Lorincz that it is in our interests to reexamine this protocol.

It also is in our interests not to withdraw unilaterally from the Warsaw Pact, because: First, this would create unnecessary tension with the USSR; second, it would be more than irresponsible, in a fluctuating international political situation, to leave the Hungarian Army without replenishments of arms and components. Nota Bene: It emerged at the committee session that our Army's supplies will last for one year, in any case.

In conclusion, the Foreign Affairs Committee is continuing the consultations, approved by parliament, on the future of the relationship between Hungary and the Warsaw Pact. [end recording]

Reexamination of Agreements Necessary

LD2905202690 Budapest MTI in English 1940 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 29 (MTI)—The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Parliament held a closed session on Tuesday [29 May], and discussed Hungary's membership in the Warsaw Treaty.

Jozsef Bratinka (Hungarian Democratic Forum), member of the committee, informed MTI about the military obligations that membership in the Warsaw Treaty poses for the country, and what difficulties and disorder a withdrawal could cause from the military point of view.

A concrete point revealed by the MP [MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT] was that the military experts do not hold the withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Treaty to be impossible, and certain preparatory work was also made.

According to the MP, the general opinion is that the Warsaw Treaty is beginning to break up, and has changed considerably in the past period - this was also reconfirmed by the military experts. the general wish is for Hungary to leave the organization. However, the committee does not support irresponsible and unilateral steps in the matter.

In harmony with the government programme, the long-term goal can be for Hungary to be a part of the unified European defence system. Re-examination of the international contracts, and bilateral agreements, and the elaboration of international legal guarantees—which are also connected to the modernization of the Hungarian Army—are necessary to this end.

The committee will make a recommendation to the government in the issue. The unanimous position of the body is that talks should be opened about withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty.

5,000 Recruits Arrive To Assist Withdrawal

LD2505191690 Budapest MTI in English 1302 GMT 25 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—Five thousand recruits have started to arrive in Hungary from the Soviet Union in place of the more than 10,000 Soviet soldiers recently discharged from the Soviet southern Army group stationed here.

Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman for the Ministry of Defence, had the following comment to give MTI on the matter:

"The Hungarian Army has been briefed on the details of the change in troops, which is part of the training schedule of the Soviet southern army group.

"The staff of the Hungarian Army have already given their consent to the move.

"The presence of the new recruits is necessary to assist the further troops withdrawal, since they include truck drivers, mechanics and repairman.

"These soldiers will participate in making arrangements for transporting the equipment of the Soviet troops still in Hungary back to the Soviet Union, and are to leave Hungary together with them.

"The departure of the discharged soldiers and the arrival of recruits are being monitored by the Hungarian military authorities."

Hungarian Socialists Hold 2nd Congress 26 May

Poszgay on MDF-SZDSZ Pact

LD2605162190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 26 May 90

[Text] Contrary to expectations, there has been no mention so far about a possible party split at the second congress of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]. It was said, however, that the HSP is a social democratic movement, too. Our reporters were there:

[Begin unidentified reporter recording] Socialists are not embarrassed to cooperate with the administration in the creation of a constitutional state and a socialist market economy. According to Imre Pozsgay, leader of the HSP's parliamentary group, the party shares responsibility with the administration for the fate of Magyars living outside Hungary and for the guarding of national independence. At the same time, the HSP does not want—in order to regain political popularity—to conclude unprincipled compromises with any parliamentary party. Imre Pozsgay complemented historian Sandor Balogh's view by saying that the socialists are not endeavoring to achieve exclusivity, that is to represent solely the left in the legislature. At the same time the HSP is willing to negotiate and enter into an alliance with all left-wing forces.

Imre Pozsgay also said that the party did not suffer a blow of fate with the MDF-SZDSZ [Hungarian Democratic Forum-Alliance of Free Democrats] pact. As he said, it was legal and constitutional, but still, under any circumstances, it was the first step in the restriction of parliamentary democracy. What is behind the agreement is that Hungary should switch over to a two-party parliamentary alternate management and in the interest of this the other political movements and forces would be simply excluded from politics.

According to Pozsgay, there is also the risk that the Hungarian people will simply be deprived of their right to directly have a say in legislation. He repeated the socialists' stance that the president of the republic should be elected by plebiscite.

The socialists reject the haste with which the modification of the constitution is taking place in the National Assembly as well as the intention of the MDF and the SZDSZ to establish mutual press publicity. The HSP parliamentary group is linked to the policy of the party and represents the HSP stances, including that the HSP is also a social democratic movement. As Ivan Vitanyi said: Socialism and social democracy are synonymous concepts.

The second congress, which began at 0800, first heard Rezso Nyers, who is stepping down as chairman, then after several contributors it continues its work at a close session from 1030. The debate on personnel issues begins at 1900 and the party leaders and bodies will be elected late at night.

The CPSU Central Committee has sent a greetings telegram to the HSP congress. It expresses the hope that the two parties' cooperation will continue to work in the interests of the two countries and European stability. [end recording]

Opinions Divided on New Chairman

LD2605181490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 26 May 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] is also a social democratic movement. This was heard at the second congress of the party, which is still in session at present. Laszlo Garday and Jozsef Orosz report:

[Garday] The sittings of the sections, which began in the morning, finished just a short while ago. It can be concluded from this that, contrary to expectations, it is not certain that the chairman of the party will be elected today.

[Orosz] In the sections, among other things, they considered the party constitution and the shaping of the political image of the party. The congress has decided that the socialists will offer their parliamentary action for the representation of the left in the country.

[Garday] They have also decided that the Socialist Party accepts the role of a constructive opposition by rejecting both liberal and conservative governments.

[Grosz] Imre Pozsgay already talked about the opposition role of the party in his speech in the morning.

At present, the debate about the modifications to the party's constitution is taking place at a plenary session. Great differences of opinions are not expected about the need for the HSP to be transformed into a party of social democratic complexion, but opinions are divided about who should become the chairman of the party following the resignation of Rezso Nyers.

Nyers Resigns as President

LD2605172790 Budapest MTI in English 1630 GMT 26 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 26 (MTI)—The 2nd congress of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] opened in Budapest on Saturday [26 May]. Delegates are discussing the situation of the party, its tasks, political nature and the main tendencies of its opposition policy.

HSP President Rezso Nyers resigned at the congress. He stressed his conviction that there is no reason to differentiate between socialist and social democratic character. Mr Nyers said the socialists recognize parliament as the supreme people's representation. At the same time they take a stand for the people to elect the president of the republic in a direct manner. They oppose that the majority parties be able to repeatedly change the constitution for power interests, through bargains.

Ivan Vitanyi, member of the National Presidium, said the Hungarian Sociaist Party is a Socialist Party with a social- democratic character, which adheres to the principles of the Socialist International. It does not strive to expropriate social democracy, it wishes to cooperate with all parties and movements which profess themselves to be socialist and democratic.

Imre Pozsgay, member of the National Presidium, summed up the party's opposition policy, and said: the Hungarian Socialist Party intends to accept the representation in parliament also of the left wing, which was unable to win seats in legislation.

HSP Elects Horn Chairman

LD2605223890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2200 GMT 26 May 90

[Text] Gyula Horn was elected chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] by the party congress. The congress discussed personnel questions at a closed meeting. On the first day of the congress, modifications in the party constitution were adopted. The lower age limit for party membership is 16, and to become a party member, the applicant must accept the statement of principles of the Socialist International. The majority of the delegates at the Congress agreed that the party adheres to the principles of democratic socialism and rejects nothing from the principles of social democracy.

Vitanyi Appointed National Board Head

LD2705130290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 27 May 90

[Excerpts] By dawn today [27 May] Gyula Horn had been elected chairman of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party]. The politician got twice as many votes as his partner in the race, Ivan Vitanyi. The two deputy chairmen are Imre Pozsgay and (Gyoergy Janossy). According to the decision of the Congress, Ivan Vitanyi has become leader of the National Board. Today's events of the second HSP Congress are summed up by Laszlo Gardai:

[Begin Gardai recording] [passage omitted recapping yesterday's events; remarks by Pozsgay; presidium to be elected today] Also, at a closed session yesterday [26 May] they debated the party's asset situation and appointed the party's treasurer, (Laszlo Mate). [end recording]

HSP's Horn on Future Party Policy

LD2705165590 Budapest MTI in English 1530 GMT 27 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 27 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, the newly elected president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, gave a statement to MTI.

Mr Horn said he is aware the situation of the Socialist Party is not easy today, although left-wing ideas have a future in Hungary. According to his conviction, the parliamentary elections did not reflect the genuine power relations. Eighty per cent of the voters genuinely did cast their ballots for the change in system. However people still find it difficult to separate the Socialist Party from the former state party. In spite of this, the socialists can show a decent result, compared to the circumstances.

Taking the above into consideration, Mr Horn was of the opinion it is worthwhile to work for left-wing values. He added he would like to continue to be active in foreign policy, as he has several decades-long experience in this field. He will thus continue on as chairman of parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, and the legal measures in force also make this possible.

Discussing the tasks facing the party, Mr Horn said the congress made it clear the party wishes to operate in the spirit of the principal statement of the Socialist International, mainly relying on the values of social democracy.

Horn on Hungarian Socialist Party Future

LD2905103290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1805 GMT 28 May 90

[Interview with Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman Gyula Horn by unidentified announcer on the "First Hand Information" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Gyula Horn, newly elected chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] is in our studio.

Why is it that after the congress, [HSP] personnel questions were given the most emphasis? This is what the press dealt with the most. Couldn't you have gotten away with this?

[Horn] Well, hardly, since one of the most important tasks of the congress was the reshuffle, because progress cannot be made with this leadership—I am thinking of the presidium most of all—which was overstaffed. And neither did it have a composition with which it could have operated properly. Thus, it can be said that this was a unanimous request by the membership to renew the leadership completely, or almost completely. This was a central task of the congress.

[Announcer] Many people say that there was a preliminary pact, according to which Rezso Nyers was to resign. However, feeling that the general atmosphere was not too bad, and the post of chairman of the board was increasing in value, Rezso Nyers went back on this preliminary pact and would have liked to occupy a leading position, to become the chairman of the board. Then you arrived and, as many say, you rudely and brutally rejected this initiative by Rezso Nyers.

[Horn] Yes. Well, as for what Rezso Nyers dis and thought, and who convinced him to come forward, or to have himself nominated for one of the posts within the party, I do not know. You should ask him.

Second, as to whether I was rude and brutal, when the congress asked me—although this is an internal affair of the party, today, alas, there is hardly any party which can keep its internal affairs to itself—whether I would undertake the chairmanship, I said that I would undertake it on the condition that Rezso Nyers would not occupy a leading post within the party.

I formulated it this way adding that it was much better if I said this there and then at the Congress, than to have conflicts afterwards and sweep the problems under the carpet again. I have to say that in this statement of mine—which, incidentally, I do not consider to be at all rude—I was guided by two things basically—besides the need for a united leadership. First, I do not dispute the merits of Rezso Nyers, I do not dispute what he has done for the interests of the left wing during the past decades. I said at the congress too that I consider him to be a dedicated reformer and a man of great abilities too. However, the situation which has evolved within the party during the past months, this lethargic and half-hearted style, has meant that we could not politicize [our aims] properly within the conditions of the multiparty system, yet we should have found a style and appropriate method to do this. The fact is that the leadership has practically fallen to pieces: The party was not directed properly either during the elections, or beforehand. For this, the person most responsible is the number one leader of the party. This is so in every serious party in the world. Thus, if this is so—and I think the decicive majority of the membership shares this opinion—then I consider it unethical that the number one leader responsible for the situation of the party would fulfill another—even if not such an important, but nevertheless serious—position within the party.

[Announcer] A last question in connection with Rezso Nyers: I was not present at the news conference following the congress, but people were laughing and telling me that when you were asked why Rezso Nyers had to go, you replied that nobdoy can evade biological laws, and everybody smiled because Karoly Grosz said exactly the same thing.

[Horn] This was not in my mind, I did not think of Karoly Grosz; this is a law of life.

In my opinion, if a party really wants to renew itself, the older leaders have to be respected too, since there are older persons in this party too, and it is not that we discriminate against the old. On the contrary, we have also entered the age when we are not getting any younger either—I am thinking of Imre Pozsgay and myself. But, may I ask, if we want to renew a party's organization, concept and operation, the younger generation is needed most of all.

[Announcer] Just now you mentioned as self-criticism that within the framework of the multiparty system, the Socialist Party did not perform politically the way it was expected, for example, in parliament. It is said that you were very angry—this was leaked, incidentally—that at the session of the parliamentary faction of the Socialist Party you recommended the adoption of the program of the Antall government and you were cross that [the news of] this was leaked. Does this not contradict what you have just said?

[Horn] Take any of the other parties or parliamentarian fraction: They all hold internal discussions which only consider that particular fraction. And I am not angry with the press or the media, but with the person who leaked it.

[Announcer] Since it has already been leaked, I must ask you what the logic of the HSP is, which, in reality, must be regarded as the most important opposition party since the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] made the agreement with the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]. So what is the logic in the most important opposition party voting for a government program at the very beginning?

[Horn] Look, I have already given the following reasons, and I am now giving them again. First, fundamentally, I do not criticize the government's program—that is, I do not regard it as contrary to the interests of the country, or to the path which can lead out of the present situation. So, looking at its aims, I do not regard the government's program as a bad one.

[Announcer] But an opposition is, by definition, against the government's program, this is our understanding?

[Horn] Forgive me, but Hungary is in a special situation. The situation in Hungary is not like that in West Europe, where almost everywhere there is a rotating political system. We do not have this here yet; we must accept that here, after all, we were changing the system from a party-state. This new government was handed a very heavy inheritance, like the German government from earlier governments, and I know this. I do not regard it as ethically acceptable that a party which played a very important part in this transition, and knows extremely well what kind of inheritance this new government was burdened with, should oppose everything on principle, because this is what we were talking about: The categorical rejection of the government's program, when we fundamentally agree with its aims.

It is a different matter that in this program there are many political or other elements which are unacceptable, and I argued that every such part of the program must be very rigorously criticized. For example, I regard the question of land as the priority question, because what is contained in the government's program I regard as a bargain between the FKGP [Independent Smallholders Party] and the MDF, which could create a very serious situation in the country—it has not been fully thought out. I believe that if the government coalition carries this through it will have very serious negative consequences, not only for the peasants and agriculture, but for the entire country. So there are such parts [of this program]—but together with all these I am saying that we give a vote of confidence for the new government, so that they can start their work with greater authorization. In the months to follow, they will prove by their actions what they are capable of.

[Announcer] An interesting question, while we are at it, is what the party is, and what it is not. Before the congress, the issue for debate about the social democratic character of the party appeared in NEPSZABADSAG as a paid advertisement. I think this surprised many people. Have you given up the paper?

[Horn] The previous leadership had earlier already made a decision about this, so NEPSZABADSAG is not the HSP's newspaper, though I understand that the word socialist is on its title page; I don't know, I don't read it. So its aims are more or less the same as ours, but our material appears in it just like that of any other party. MDF, SZDSZ or other party materials appears in NEPSZABADSAG, the same as ours.

[Announcer] This I have seen. So now you are without a daily paper. Can a party, the strongest opposition party afford this?

[Horn] I don't think so; this was also raised at the congress—that we have to look into the possibility of starting an explicitly socialist paper, though I do not regard this as a tragedy.

[Announcer] I have heard of a very interesting combination and I cannot resist asking your opinion. A former, faithful communist, a member of the former political elite, said half jokingly that the fate of East Europe was decided when Karoly Grosz was not intelligent enough to make Pozsgay president of the Presidential Council. There would have been democratic socialism here, the single party system would have remained, there would be no German question, and East Europe would have remained in its good old socialist condition.

[Horn] I do not believe in this at all.

[Announcer] Does it have any foundation?

[Horn] It may have some foundation in the sense that it would have prolonged the time of changing the system, so it is possible this would have come later. Neither Pozsgay, nor anybody else, consciously or unconsciously, could have [words indistinct] ...

[Announcer, interrupting] This not what we are talking about. If at the time Kadar had been wise enough to hand power to you, the younger generation, many are saying you would have been clever enough to rescue the one party system.

[Horn] This is just it, we did not want to rescue the one-party system.

[Announcer] On this point, the former opposition—now the governing force—says that you were still bolsheviks and stayed so, only you were intelligent and European.

[Horn] Now that we ever more frequently meet and talk to the SZDSZ, the MDF and other party members, we are debating, arguing and realizing that many things were different then, even in the party state, than they assumed. Perhaps this is our fault too, because it is difficult to understand from the outside what battles and debates took place within the earlier party, for example about the one-party system. Debates that the one-party system was unsuitable, must be changed, the debate about this was going on not just one year ago, but for years. Pozsgay had already outlined this—not last February, but before—that the one-party system must be ended. It is quite certain that these poeple, or Miklos Nemeth and others, did not want to rescue the one party system, thus I would phrase it differently. These reform groups committed several mistakes which could have been avoided. For example, the Socialist Party could have gained not 10-11 percent but much more. The fixing of the date and circumstances of the elections and many other things were very unfortunate from the

Socialist Party's point of view; the congress—and I do not want to go into the details of these. One is wiser after the event.

[Announcer] Now comes a very important question—and a strongly ideological party such as a socialist or social democratic party deserves such a question: What about power?

[Horn] Forgive me, it is not right [to say] that this is a strongly ideological party, quite the contrary. The social democratic parties are less dogmatic and I imagine this Socialist Party to be like this as well. In any case I do not want, would not like it, if we had a debate about the debate, to submerge ourselves in theory. Theory is important, an essential, but it cannot take the place of action, and this too is one of the great mistakes of the past weeks. It is obvious that for the following 2-3 years we will not have a chance to take over power, this is not the aim.

[Announcer] To this point, many people will nod in agreement; men will say thank God, I hope Mr. Chairman is right.

[Horn] Yes.

[Announcer] But in the long run?

[Horn] Naturally. I said yesterday that this is a serious party, and every serious party wants to get into power, does not want to be permanently in opposition. A party which has no ambitions is not a serious party. We also have ambitions; it is only a question of the methods to use and how we would like to achieve them [our ambitions].

[Announcer] Can you say, now in 1990, that we will want to gain power?

[Horn] Every party thinks this. Do you think the six parties which got into parliament do not want to get into power? That those who got into government do not want to retain it, and those in opposition do not want to get into power? This is the logic of the system, this is the nature of politics.

[Announcer] Do you seriously beleive that you will live to see the HSP become the strongest, governing party?

[Horn] I seriously believe that it can take part in power, not an absolute power, but part of a coaltion power group which will take over from the present one.

Manpower Center Report on Unemployment

AU2405172190 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 May 90 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Report of the Manpower Center"]

[Text] The National Manpower Market Center has published statistics on unemployment benefits paid in January and February 1990. According to the report, more than 7,200 people joined the number of people receiving such benefits during this period. In addition, some 8,200 people were living on unemployment benefits in January and February 1990, but they started receiving these benefits last year.

Ever since the introduction of unemployment benefits on 1 January 1989, more than 18,000 unemployed workers have received such benefits for shorter or longer periods of time. Some 33 percent of these people have since left the circle of people receiving benefits (some 6,100 workers), but only 21 percent of these people (or about 3,900) were able to find jobs. Unemployed people who were unable to find new jobs stopped receiving such benefits partly because of a lack of cooperation with the manpower offices, and partly because of other benefits they have been receiving.

There has been a considerable deterioration in the chances of finding a new job since the introduction of these benefits. In the first quarter of 1989, one unemployed person could choose among 3.1 registered jobs, while this number decreased to only 1.3 in February 1990.

In January and February 1990, 61 percent of the people receiving unemployment benefits were living on such benefits for less than three months, 15 percent were living on these benefits for more than three months, but for less than three-quarters of a year. Some 14 percent were living on such benefits for more than three-quarters of a year.

The number and proportion of people living on such benefits for more than three-quarters of a year were particularly high in Budapest, Baranya, Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen, Nograd, and Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg counties.

A total of 99 million forints were allocated from the Employment Fund in January and February 1990. This made up an average of 5,102 forints per person. Some 46 percent of these people received financial aid under 4,000 forints monthly; 30 percent received between 4,000-6,000 forints; 18 percent received between 6,000-10,000 forints; and 7 percent received financial aid exceeding 10,000 forints monthly.

Those who are unable to find work after one year, will receive temporary unemployment benefits. These benefits amount to 75 percent of the unemployment aid received in the second half of the year in question. Some 158 people received such benefits in the first two months of 1990.

Most of these people can be found in Budapest, Baranya, Csongrad, Nograd, and Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg counties. Some 390,000 forints were allocated for such benefits during these two months. The average monthly sum paid for such benefits stood at 3,400 forints.

Economic, National Security Cabinets Established

LD2505070890 Budapest MTI in English 1030 GMT 24 May 90

[Excerpt] Budapest, May 24 (MTI)—The government will regularly meet once a week on Thursday, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall told the founding session after the swearing-in ceremony on Wednesday [23 May] evening. The meeting was attended by Arpad Goncz, interim president of the Republic of Hungary.

Government spokesman Balazs Laszlo told MTI's correspondent that on the prime minister's recommendation an economic cabinet was set up to prepare the ground for financial and economic decisions and coordinate work between the various ministries.

The economic cabinet—which includes the ministers of international economic relations, industry, trade, agriculture, transport and telecommunication, labour, and environmental protection—will meet prior to the government session every week under the chairmanship of the finance minister.

It was also decided to establish a national-security cabinet in charge of making proposals and preparing decisions. This body will be headed by the prime minister and comprise the ministers of the interior, foreign affairs, defence and justice. If needs be, the finance minister will also be invited.

An inter-ministerial committee is to be formed to coordinate foreign economic matters, involving the ministers of finance, international economic relations, industry and commerce, as well as the president of the National Bank of Hungary.

During the government session, the ministers presented proposals on the appointment of state secretaries.

The prime minister stated he had appointed Balazs Laszlo spokesman for the government, and requested the ministers to organize their spokesman's offices.

The Council of Ministers is to meet in its first, regular session on Thursday evening. [passage omitted]

Industry Minister Bod on Economic Situation

AU2505075890 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 16 May 90 p 4

[Interview with Industry and Trade Minister Akos Peter Bod by "M.P." in Budapest on 15 May: "He Has No Illusions"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] The politician in charge of forming a government nominated Economist and National Assembly deputy Akos Peter Bod, an expert in the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], to the position of minister of the new Industry and Trade Ministry.

["M.P."] In the current Hungarian economic situation, is it correct to nominate a scientific researcher to head an economic ministry?

[Bod] Practice will tell. The Polish experience shows that this method works: University professor and researcher Balcerovicz copes very well as head of the Finance Ministry. Similar experiments are taking place in the CSFR: learning by doing. As for myself, I do not always regard it as correct when a researcher is engaged in state administration, because a scientist will do everything to prove his own truth. State administration is a profession in which one has the task of creating a permanent consensus.

["M.P."] To what extent is your professional knowledge adequate for heading the industrial policy tasks?

[Bod] This task is not totally unexpected for a researcher who has been dealing with enterprise planning, industrial policy, and general economic policy for 15 years, and who published his first articles on the dilemmas of industrial policy. However, there are problems that seem to be impossible to solve, problems that have been facing Hungary for 15 years, like restructuring. I have no illusions whatsoever. Hungarian industry is full of contradictions in all its points. The same applies to domestic trade, although I am less aware of this sector. Although I used to deal with market structures as a researcher, there will be many new aspects of this problem for me. There is also another essential aspect: There will be no National Planning Office, and it is a big question who will deal with the economic structure. I think that the new industrial and trade ministry will not guide the enterprises, and this will not be needed if our plans for privatization are fulfilled. However, it is essential for the new ministry to deal with the economic means of restructuring.

["M.P."] How do you try to give an impetus to restructuring?

[Bod] We must give an impetus to mechanisms which lead to the spreading of small-scale and intermediate enterprises and which strengthen competition in the state sector and contribute to the preparation for privatization. In the controlled sector—energy and public services—we must introduce a market-conform [piackonform] and a modern administration form.

["M.P."] Do you have a program for the concrete overtaking of this ministry?

[Bod] This is a complex legal problem, because I do not have to take over one ministry, but I immediately have to begin organizing the fusion of three ministries. The Industry Ministry, the domestic trade and tourism departments of the Trade Ministry, and the industrial policy department of the National Planning Office will be concentrated in a single ministry. This summer will be long enough and quite active.

["M.P."] What genuine decisions will you make first?

[Bod] A series of over-ripe decisions are awaiting the new apparatus. We must solve the financial crisis that also burdens the industrial sector. A few dozen large-scale industrial enterprises represent the starting point. The other problem is the decrease in the Soviet market, and the third problem is energy. We must give further impetus to small ventures; foreign capital is offered, but there is not enough readiness to accept it. We are facing a lot of new tasks everywhere. The apparatus will now "be in charge" and will show what it can do.

New Defense Minister Fuer on Reforming Army

LD2605092190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 24 May 90

[Text] The new defense minister considers his most important task to be to create the national spirit of the Hungarian Army. Lajos Fuer introduced himself to his colleagues at the conference of the leaders of his ministry. The minister emphasized that every soldier who undertakes the defense of the homeland is needed and he considers, at the same time, that the moral and financial appreciation of the professional staff must be increased. Lajos Fuer said that the country's final aim is to create national sovereignity and by mutual understanding of the parties involved, Hungary's departure from the Warsaw Pact.

Future Military Concepts Reviewed

LD2605092390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 24 May 90

[Interview with Defense Minister Lajos Fuer by reporter Laszlo Gardai, following a conference of Defense Ministry leaders in Budapest on 24 May—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Gardai] When you spoke about changing the guard this morning, I think, many wondered whether they would be staying in their present posts.

[Fuer] I was referring to the kind of change of guard which has already taken place at the leadership of the defense Ministry

[Gardai] In your speech you also mentioned Hungary's intention of leaving the Warsaw Pact, which has already been decided. The way you put it was that this should be resolved, under any circumstances, by mutual agreement.

[Fuer] We cannot lay down even the date of departure unilaterally; it is obvious that negotiations are needed which all members of the Warsaw Pact must participate in.

[Gardai] You want to work out a new security policy concept. What would the essence of this be?

[Fuer] The Hungarian state must work out its own security policy concept in accordance with the changing domestic, and changing Warsaw Pact situation and changing European situation, while also calculating the danger of nationalisms, which flare up here and there in our region.

[Gardai] You said that a strong army which is able to defend the country is needed. However, this requires modern weapons. If Hungary leaves the Warsaw Pact, where do you intend to obtain these weapons from?

[Fuer] Well, this is the great problem. It is obvious that it is totally impossible here, with an (?absurd) turning point, to do an about turn. This is one of the many reasons why the Pact cannot be abrogated, or split up—how should I say it—angrily. On the contrary, this must be solved within a friendly framework. These friendly frameworks should make it possible, in the future too, until the switch-over [lecsereles] gradually takes place, for the appropriate military, primarily military industrial contact, i.e. the supply and import of military equipment to be carried out by the USSR.

Mazowiecki Meets Solidarity Leaders in Wroclaw

LD2505175490 Warsaw PAP in English 0959 GMT 25 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki arrived in the Western Polish city of Wroclaw this morning [25 May] to discuss the current social, political and economic problems of the country with the board of the local Solidarity chapter.

Gains Wroclaw Solidarity Support

LD2505183190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1550 GMT 25 May 90

["Declaration" issued by the Joint Presidia of Private Farmers Solidarity, Wroclaw Solidarity Citizens' Committee, and the Main Board of Lower Silesia Region, at a preelection rally in Wroclaw; read by Solidarity Citizens Committee head (Rafal Dutkiewocz); with introduction by Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Independent Self-Governing Trade Union (Solidarity) leader in Wroclaw—live relay]

[Text] [Frasyniuk] Ladies and gentlemen, we are dealing with an attempt to create political conflict. The whole of society and also we Solidarity people must show, once again, on which side of this conflict we stand. We have never lacked physical courage. Now it is time for us to show our moral courage as well. If you permit, ladies and gentlemen, (Rafal Dutkiewicz), head of the Solidarity Citizens' Committee, will read a declaration adopted on 25 May by the Joint Presidia of Private Farmers' Solidarity, the Solidarity Citizens' Committee, and also of our trade union. [applause]

[(Dutkiewicz)] Let us persevere on the road of transformations. The June elections to parliament began the great work of repairing the republic. The aim is to extricate Poland from profound backwardness through marketization of the economy, democratization of public life, and strengthening of our country's international standing. Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government serves this aim. The government that he heads has achieved successes. In the name of the Polish raison d'etat, it conducts a sovereign foreign policy. Inflation has dropped. Modern economic legislation is being created. Poland is becoming a country of free people who—without fear of repression—make their views known, form organizations, and defend their individual and group interests.

The creation of legal foundations for local democracy and earlier self-government elections opens up a broad scope for civic activity. These successes became possible, thanks to the support that the program and the person of Premier Mazowiecki was given by the leadership of the Solidarity movement, the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP], and, above all, by society.

However, pressure has recently been intensifying for a violent acceleration of the transformations and for going outside the present political system. The social conflicts and criticism of the government by its allies are natural in a free country. We, too, want to speed up the transformations: but the exceptionally difficult economic situation dictates that we must be moderate in applying pressure and put the common good above group [partykularne] interests. We, therefore, express concern at the attempts to incite tension, to politicize worker conflicts, and to demagogically exploit Polish poverty to satisfy personal aims and the ambitions of political groupings.

To all organizations and people of good will, we appeal for help for Premier Mazowiecki in getting the country to the parliamentary and presidential elections. [applause]

We trust that these elections will enable the continuation of the program of repair of the republic, which Premier Mazowiecki has presented, and that he himself will play an important role in the state, as a guarantor of the continuity of this work.

[Signed] Presidium of the Main Board of Lower Silesia region; Presidium of the Wroclaw Citizens' Committee; Voivodship Council of Private Farmers' Solidarity [applause]

Ladies and gentlemen, because this declaration has had such a warm response from you, I'd like to ask you whether you would like to confirm by applause that this declaration is also an appeal from those gathered here? [prolonged applause]

Thanking you very much, I'd like to say that a similar declaration was sent a moment ago by Solidarity at Wroclaw Technical University. [applause]

Addresses Preelection Rally

LD2505211490 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1511 GMT 25 May 90

[Speech by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at a preelection rally in Wroclaw—live]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends:

We meet at an important and difficult moment. Important, because in a few days' time, for the first time in post-war Poland, we will have completely free elections to local self-government. Important and difficult, because for the first time since the formation of the government that I lead a serious social conflict is taking place in Poland. Strikes on the railway are underway.

It is good that I can speak about these matters here in Wroclaw, a city of Solidarity, a city, which during the difficult days of martial law, provided an example of fortitude and persistence. Wroclaw, equally in its people, institutions, and atmosphere, carries a great deal of the heritage of the former eastern borderlands of the republic, in particular of the heritage of Lvov. [applause] But at the same time it has generated, just like many of the towns and villages of these Polish lands all the way to Szczecin and Swinoujscie, a new integrated community, a community of people full of initiatives, freshness, and youth. Here in Wroclaw, one feels the spirit of your city. Whenever I am here, I always feel refreshed and rejuvenated. [applause] I am glad that next to me, I have Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, a man of such importance for the region and for the whole of Solidarity.

One can ask the question: Why did the government, which I am leading, press for a significant acceleration, in the formation of local self-government institutions and for conducting elections to them as quickly as it was only possible? We were guided by the conviction that democratic transformations in Poland, which in fact started with a protest of the widest circles of society against the totalitarian system in August 1980, must be reflected at the local level, so that the citizens may notice it in their everyday life. It was necessary to remove the still existing barriers, which resulted in the fact that many Poles, who approved of the reformatory measures of the Sejm, Senate, and the government, did not find their appropriate reflection in the everyday life of their local communities and in their own lives.

The Sunday elections will be the first fully free elections in our country since the end of the war, and such was the pre-election campaign. There were no restrictions from above, either in selecting candidates for councillors, or in their presentation. Citizens themselves decided on it, if they only took advantage of the existing freedom. Hence, the candidates are such as society has selected them. Councillors will be the ones we ourselves will elect on Sunday. They will, in the coming years, decide on problems concerning everyday life of our local communities, and the kind of self-government administration they create will determine both the efficiency and ethics in dealing with matters with which we will approach their offices.

Consequently, the coming Sunday will for everyone be a moment of important choice concerning their personal matters. But it will, after all, be an important moment in the reform of the whole of our state, in the construction of a state of democracy and law. Starting Monday, the local republic transfers into the hands of the communities which inhabit it. It will be as good as they themselves can make it.

A true local self-government will constitute firm foundations which will allow us to build further parts of the structure of a sovereign state in which all power will come from the people. Today's political reality, which combines elements of the old and the new system is—as we all well know—a temporary solution. Fashioned as a result of the round table proceedings and then the elections to the Sejm and the Senate, it expressed the situation that existed halfway through last year, when it was a bold and pioneering solution, of which all those who contributed to it can be justly proud. It made possible a peaceful takeover of power from the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], sparing the country upheavals and conflicts and the international community concern that we would threaten the changes taking place in the whole of our region.

In the conditions of political freedom, with each passing day, the voice of those social forces which were formed as a result of August 1980 and which were determined to lead Poland to full sovereignty and democracy have had more and more impact on decisions concerning the affairs of the country. And today this is the voice which determines the decisions. This peaceful way aroused respect in Europe and the world toward Poland and the Poles. We have a justified right to feel proud of what we have achieved. However, we have to see this task through, and this is why a considerable acceleration is necessary in relation to the agenda of the reforms adopted a year ago. The problem, however, is not that there are any restrictions in Poland today on freedom of citizens or social or political organizations, any worse or different than those which are applied in all democratic countries in order to preserve order. Poland is today a country of freedom. Anyone who makes such a decision can be a member of any political country or organization. He can express his view freely; he can demonstrate. Anyone who thinks that he has anything to say has unlimited freedom of speech in a leaflet, poster, the press, radio, and television.

Every voice and every program is allowed. And the only restrictions that may be encountered result from the generally accepted rules of public life. Consequently, there is no problem of freedom in Poland. But there is the problem of how to use this freedom in order to convert it into a constructive force, a force which creates citizens' well-being and respect for the state and its institutions, for the state which is now our own state. [applause]

There is also the problem of further institutional changes, the crowning of which should be a new coherent constitution, which could come into effect next year. At the Solidarity congress, I announced the government view that the next parliamentary elections, based on a new, completely democratic electoral law, should be held in the spring of next year, that is much earlier than when the present parliament's term of office runs out. Today I repeat this view one more time: These elections should take place next spring at the latest. We need this time for the efficient functioning of the state and the economy, and also for the formation of political groups which are rooted in a social base and have alternative or mutually supplementary programs. The development of political camps and parties does not depend on the government but on those who create these parties and organizations, on their energy, conceptions, and ability to properly perceive public desires and interests.

On the other hand, it is the state's task to create a legal framework in which the development of these organizations will not come up against obstacles. A great work, which we must carry out, is to draw up and adopt a new constitution. It is in the general interest of everyone, who thinks that he can make a contribution to this work, to be able to have his say in the discussion on its shape. The constitution must be adopted in the most democratically possible way, for everyone, without exception, to respect it. For this reason too, it should either be affirmed in a general referendum or passed by a national assembly chosen in free elections. There can be no provisional solutions in this matter.

It would be an event of great significance, if the new basic law were to come into effect on 3 May of next year, on the 200th anniversary of the May Constitution, symbolizing the definitive restoration of a democratic republic to the nation. [applause]

The constitution will determine the fundamental principles of the system of government. It is important that as a result of them, a logical and coherent system of state authorities should be created, which would have clearly defined powers and guarantee respect for human rights. Poland must be governed efficiently, energetically, and with full respect for citizens' rights.

Also the election of the future president must take place according to a previously adopted constitution and in a free and general presidential election, or by the national assembly elected in free parliamentary elections. The political construction of the republic must be free from makeshift arrangements. I am convinced that next year, we can complete creation of the construction of a democratic state. [applause]

This is today already a sovereign country, whose policy is being determined in Poland and only in Poland. [applause] The superior good to which our actions are subordinated is independence and security of the Polish state. The processes connected with overcoming the divisions in Europe existing up until now are the focus of our attention. We are not passively watching them happen, but we are trying to join in and cocreate them in order to consolidate Poland's position in the new European and international order being created today.

We have formulated our policy toward both German states with the prospect of their approaching unification clearly and distinctly. There are matters on which no one can make decisions for us. [applause] We will always demand our participation everywhere where decisions are being made which have a long-term significance for Poland.

It was for this reason too that the government presented the problem of admitting Poland to the two-plus-four conference as such a matter of principle in the international forum. This was a fundamental matter for our security and we achieved that participation. [applause]

We want, in Polish-German dialogue, at the state level, to create together a genuine reconciliation and rapprochement, embracing the broadest possible circle of people, just as has happened already on a smaller scale in some milieux or between individuals. But we also want to exclude ambiguity of any kind regarding our borders, because this is a condition for our citizens' peace of mind and the security of the state. [applause] Reconciliation is possible only when no mutual fear is present. [applause]

Regarding the Soviet Union, the basis on which our mutual relations stand is Poland's independence. [applause] We have also demanded of the Soviet Union that Poland be treated as an equal, and we have been met with understanding. It can already be said today that much has been and is being achieved in this direction. Our mutual relations have been freed of ideology and have become normal relations between states. Within the framework of those relations, the problem of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland is already being solved and will be resolved. [applause]

The Poles know the value of one's own state, but after those 40 or so years, when the state was the property of one party and when its sovereignty was being breached in a way painful to us, after those years, now when we have an independent state, we must restore respect to it and its institutions. [applause] This cannot be a concern of the government only. It must be a concern of all of us; it must be our Polish responsibility for the Polish state.

We also respect the aspirations of all other nations to fully satisfy their national identity. We recognize the identity and aspirations of the nations in our region, particularly of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. [applause] We trust that they will peacefully achieve their rights by a method of rational dialogue and evolution. We believe that all sides will be up to such dialogue. [applause]

Poland arouses respect in the world today. It owes this respect to its international policy, standing sovereign guard over the national interest, but also understanding the interests of other states. The courage, determination, and calm with which we are carrying out the restructuring of our economy into a market economy, are also a very important source of that respect. Thanks to this restructuring, our country will cease to be a bottomless pit for foreign credits and will become a partner, with which cooperation brings benefits. [applause]

We have already achieved much, and it is worth remembering, because then the effort which we have already invested with effect in repairing our economy will fortify us in the next stage of the road. Above all, in the course of the five months of implementation of the government's economic program, we have brought the immensely dangerous process of collapse of the currency, hyperinflation, under control. We have eliminated the permanent shortages of goods. We have introduced and are still introducing very many new legal regulations, aimed at consolidating the stability of money and overcoming the recession, that is to say, a restoration of economic growth. We expect the end of the Sejm debates on the government's privatization bills. The point is for privatization, which is so important for the proper operation of enterprises in a market economy and also very important for social reasons, to be able to commence on a broader scale as soon as possible. We are also speeding up small-scale privatization, concerning commerce above all. We want to create better conditions for setting up new enterprises, particularly small ones, of which we have had such a shortage.

We are tackling a restructuring of the economy, based on ceasing to prop up enterprises which are constantly inefficient and on restoring to health the ones which look hopeful. We are continuing the demonopolization of the economy, that is to say, we are breaking up inefficient molochs, creating smaller enterprises competing with one another. At the same time, we are carrying on very difficult negotiations with our creditors, both banks and states. We are striving for a reduction in a considerable part of our foreign debt, which is a heavy, inherited burden for our economy, making a rapid increase in production very difficult.

An important argument in these representations is this: that we are effectively implementing an unprecedented and difficult program of transfer to a market economy. Only the success of this programme gives us a chance of success in the negotiations with our creditors and in getting significant economic aid. [applause]

In addition, we are facilitating foreign investments in Poland. We are laying down new principles for trade with the USSR and Central European countries. We are implementing our economic program with determination, but with as much flexibility as circumstances allow. Work is at an advanced stage on a general concept of agricultural policy. Agriculture must be rationalized, just like other spheres of the economy. We understand its specific nature, however, and by stabilizing economic conditions we want to help the farmers make economic decisions. We understand that the farmer must know what he can count on, but it must be remembered that we are in a period of immense changes and new stabilizing mechanisms will not come about immediately. All the government's efforts aim at resulting in a positive adaptation of the whole economy to the new rules of the game. Only then will there be increased production, which does not entail a rise in inflation but leads to a genuine increase in the standard of living.

However, in the economy, the desired effects are never reached easily and quickly, nor will they be reached easily and quickly by us. That us why, treating the public seriously, I never announced and I am still not announcing quick results.

While taking over the post of premier, I said that we were embarking on a very difficult path and that it would be hard. However, we all know that we have chosen this path not to do harm to society, but because this path is effective. This path requires much from all of us. It also requires a change of mentality of the most active part of society. It is required by—what Lech Walesa called in such a beautiful and correct way—the switching from the battle formation to the work formation. [applause]

Currently our economic program is for the first time facing a challenge in the form of railway strikes. These strikes are a manifestation of society's tiredness and impatience. At the same time they are a manifestation of the lack of understanding of the essence of our economic transformations and, by paralyzing the transport which is the circulatory system of the economy, they slow down the transformations. Fulfilling the entire scope of the economic demands of the strikers would, as a result, lead to the need to print money not backed with goods. This would be suicidal, leading to stimulating inflation and to wasting the great social effort of the past months. [applause] For this reason, the government, in a statement delivered yesterday, on its behalf by Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz in the Sejm, took the position that it cannot fulfill the pay demands put forward and will not agree on ... [applause] and will not agree on examining them in the conditions of a strike paralyzing everything or a threat of a strike. [applause]

The strikes on the railway, which we are dealing with today and around which political games have already begun, are a threat to all of us, and not just for economic reasons, but because, probably contrary to the wishes of the strikers themselves, they represent a threat to our fledgling democracy. [applause] Our democracy is still very young; it is not yet fully formed; it does not yet have sound foundations in well-formed institutions. Let us nurse this democracy with great care, because it is the great prize for which we fought for years, for which we longed for years. [applause]

Polish democracy is something one cannot lose and jeopardize. We must develop and improve it. [applause] Our state will be determined by the quality of our democracy.

The railway strike, by making difficult many important functions of the economy and the state, will turn against everyone. If democracy is the system of the state, such a strike will turn against it. The strike, which was started by a several dozen people, is an imposition of their will on very many people and the whole country. [applause] Soon, already the entire country will feel the effects of this strike in one form or another. Every strike is an ultimate measure, particularly a hunger strike. I understand the situation of the railwaymen and their needs, but if we want to build democracy together and if we want to defend it together, we must all understand the needs of other citizens, the needs of the country, as well as its capabilities to fulfill the demands of particular vocational groups. [applause] If those groups only take their own interst into account, closing their eyes to the country's needs, this will be a defeat for democracy; this will be a defeat for Poland. Therefore, the government, which has a constitutional duty to look after the functioning of the state, will show the firmness essential in these circumstances. [applause]

Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends here in this hall; and all those who are listening to me; undoubtedly, what Poland needs today is an alliance of forces acting to promote democracy. [applause] This need should be above all seen by all those who have been working for the benefit of these ideas for a long time now. They are members of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing trade Union] Solidarity, members of citizens' committees, or other political circles which originated within the former opposition, but also those who are only embarking on the road of public activity. In two days' time we will have the first fully democratic elections in post-war Poland. On this day let us be accompanied by the awareness of an historic moment, which we will experience, and of the significance of the electoral act being performed by us, its significance to us, to our local communities, and to all of Poland.

I spoke openly about the difficulties in which we have to perform this act. We are today at a kind of crossroads: either what has already been done will be undermined, or we will move forward with iron, perservering consistency.

I trust in the wisdom and maturity of our people, and its will is the only thing I will submit to. [prolonged applause]

Parish Council Elections Under Way 27 May

LD2705080190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 27 May 90

[Text] The polling stations have been open for an hour now in 2,383 parishes. About 60 percent of Poles are voting in one-mandate constituencies where one councillor is to be elected. Residents of localities inhabited by more than 40,000 people are voting in multimandate constituencies. Their aim is to elect from five to 10 representatives to the parish councils. In this case, they are voting for election lists. Altogether, we will elect over 52,000 councillors. We can vote until 2000.

Citizens Committee Candidates Win Elections

LD2905093890 Warsaw PAP in English 2220 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—The preliminary results of elections to local self-governments point to the success of candidates of Citizens' Committees and those running on social lists backed by Solidarity.

For instance, in four constituencies in the centre of Bialystok, candidates of the Citizens' Electoral Committee of Solidarity won 2,093 votes out of 3,362 votes cast in the ballot. SDRP [Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland] placed second winning 441 votes. PPS-RD (Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution) won the smallest number of votes in these districts.

The success of Solidarity can be best reflected by the fact that in the newly elected municipal council in Gdansk, 59 seats out of 60 were won by Solidarity candidates.

PSL Executive Committee on Elections

LD3005092190 Warsaw PAP in English 2210 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 29—The Polish Peasant Party (PSL) forwarded 19,000 candidates in the self-government elections, a communique on the elections issued for PAP by the press office of the PSL chief executive committee says.

Numerous attempts to discredit the PSL were made during the electoral campaign and this could be seen in the posters action, in the press linked to the Citizens Parliamentary Club and in some TV journalist broadcasts. It is also worth stressing that the PSL did not benefit from foreign financial support. PSL local cells carried out the campaign using their own small means. Despite this difficult situation, preliminary reports from more than twenty voivodships show that PSL members account for at least 20 per cent of the total number of the elected councillors (from a dozen or so to about 30 per cent in individual voivodships).

As for the countryside, people not linked to any political force, including to the Solidarnosc Citizens' Committee, are the biggest elected group and the next most numerous group are PSL members, the communique says.

Unofficial Local Election Results Noted

LD3005191290 Warsaw PAP in English 1830 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 30—PAP learnt today [30 May] from the computer services at the general electoral commissioner that basing on a representative sample from 16 provinces, particular groupings won the following percentage of mandates:

—Citizens' Committees and Soldiarity Citizens' Committees—

41.43 percent.

—Citizens' Groups—37.92 percent.

—the Polish Peasant Party PSL—6.54 percent.

—the Private Farmers' Solidarity—4.32 percent

—the Solidarity Trade Union—1.74 percent.

—the Democratic Party SD—1.68 percent

—the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ—0.70 percent.

—Voluntary Fire Brigades—0.66 percent.

—Parties of National Minorities—0.65 percent.

—the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland SDRP—0.28

percent.

—the Confederation for Independent Poland KPN—0.1 percent.

Koszalin Voivode's Czajka Resignation Accepted

LD3005085690 Warsaw PAP in English
1930 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 29—The premier recalled Jacek Czajka as the voivode of Koszalin Province in connection with the latter's resignation from the post.

Stefan Marchewka was appointed as acting voivode.

Commentary Views Walesa's Political Goals

AU2405170190 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
19-20 May 90 pp 1, 2

[Lech Kaczynski commentary: "In My Opinion"]

[Text] What is Walesa up to? This is the question many Poles are asking today. In my opinion, the chairman of "Solidarity" is aiming at three main goals. The first aim is to quicken the pace of reforms; namely, to set a pace that will be socially acceptable. The tensions that are emerging, although not yet explosive, but already noticeable, are not just linked to economic issues. They are also tied to political issues. There is a feeling that reforms in Poland are taking place too slowly and as common parlance has it, not much is changing "at the bottom."

The second aim flows directly from the present economic situation. Walesa assesses the situation as being close to society's natural limits of endurance and resistance. His instinct seldom fails him in such matters. Of course a faster pace of political reform could increase this endurance, but we must find measures that will even in a small way alleviate the living standards of the poorest among us. As concerns the economy in general, after the long period of recession we would finally like to see a slow, but upward movement.

The final and third aim is to lead to the creation of a truly pluralistic system. Such a system will not arise of its own. In order to have political life organized in such a way, and avoid a situation where there is monopolization of power, one has to prevent the process of political fragmentation that will produce 100 or so small and politically insignificant parties. There must be at least two forces that have equal chances of coming to power, giving society the option to chose between them.

In a nutshell, these are the aims that have motivated Lech Walesa's recent statements and opinions. The campaign that he has begun to wage is not personal. It is a dispute over the two different concepts of Poland's future.

The fact that a section of the public identifies Walesa's actions with presidential ambitions and the disagreement with Tadeusz Mazowiecki—the latter being perceived as the main obstacle to these ambitions—is the result of the mass media and that is where I place the blame for this misunderstanding, although the entire media is not to blame. It is the media that has created a false picture of the situation. I want to be blunt about this. The Mazowiecki government is not threatened by any danger at this moment. The question: "Will Walesa topple Mazowiecki?" is traumatic, but completely unreal. I believe that Tadeusz Mazowiecki has all the attributes to become an established figure on our political scene. Of course one cannot be totally certain of this, but one cannot be certain of anything these days. In any case, Walesa's initiatives are not aimed at bringing about a change of government. This, too, has to be said quite clearly.

What should we be doing then? In my opinion, certain corrections have to be made to Balcerowicz's program. That is the first thing. The second is that we undoubtedly need relatively early elections; namely, in the autumn or sometime at the end of the year. The artificiality of the present arrangement of forces stems from the fact that the composition of our parliament bears no relation to the real division of forces in society. Third, there is the issue of the presidency, also in its symbolic sense. This point ought to be addressed and resolved earlier, but without precipitate haste.

Society's feelings can be summed up as being the following: The first phase of Balcerowicz's program is coming to an end and everyone is asking what will come next? This question has to be addressed and we must have an answer. Without doubt, the economy is the most important. Later, one can address other and less pressing political problems, unless of course there is an unexpected explosion of social tension, which I hope we shall avoid. It is for these reasons that Lech Walesa began this dispute.

Radio-TV Poll on Pace of Political Change

LD2605040390 Warsaw PAP in English
1620 GMT 25 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—In a recent poll carried out by the Polish Radio and Television Polling Centre 29 percent of those polled said that the pace of political changes ih Poland is appropriate, 26 percent siad that it is too fast and 25 percent stated it is too slow. Every fifth person did not have a ready opinion.

The opinion that political changes are taking place too quickly prevailed especially among young people, that is respondents under 24 years of age.

Asked whether the term of the present Polish president should be shortened, exactly half of the respondents answered in the affirmative. Half of that group said that the next presidential elections should be held in about a year, while the other half was of the opinion that the elections of a new president should be held as quickly as possible still this year.

One third of those polled (34 percent) expressed the opinion that "Wojciech Jaruzelski should remain in office till the end of his term, that is till 1995", while 16 percent did not have a ready opinion this matter.

Asked whether Polish president should be elected by parliament or in general vote of all citizens, the majority of respondents (80 percent) said that in general elections. 75 percent of respondents were also in favour of the existence of a presidential system in Poland, that is a strong president.

Labor Minister Kuron on Strikes, Wages

LD3005090890 Warsaw PAP in English
2045 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] WArsaw, May 29—In his weekly TV statement, Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron said:

On railway strike: The Slupsk communique signed, among others, by Lech Walesa, speaks of the conclusion not suspension of strike, although today the federation of PKP (Polish State Railways) workers again speaks of suspension (of the strike). Talks with trade union organization have been held for some time now. We do not talk of wages alone. Under the pressure of strike, no pay negotiations can be held. This would mean forcing others to strike, too.

On wages of public utilities workers: Remunerations of these workers, including railwaymen, are drastically low. The Ministry of finance planned to apply certain tax reliefs for these enterprises and thus to raise wages of their employees. Such a decision concerning 1.2 million people was being prepared when the strike started. On May 30, the government will make a decision on this issue. However, various forms of pressure and threats do not help to solve the problem.

On the right to strike: Right after assuming the post I moved a proposal to amend the law on trade unions specifying the conditions when the strike could be staged at all. According to the draft, a legal strike has to be announced earlier and preceeded by a referendum among the crew. The rule would be that workers are not paid for the time of strike. The trade union organizations lagged behind in taking their attitude on the draft. Now, the Senate intends to come out with a legislative innitiative concerning the amendment of the law on trade unions. I hope that shortly the issue will be solved in the interest of both employees and employers.

Solidarity Commission on Rail Strike Aftermath

LD3005092490 Warsaw PAP in English
2110 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Gdansk, May 29—A meeting of the Presidium of the Solidarnosc National Commission was held here today [29 May] to discuss primarily the situation after the railwaymen's strike.

In the coming days, the union plans to start negotiations with the government to bring about the swiftest possible solution to the main problems of the milieu, a communique of press spokeswoman of the National Commission Barbara Malak says.

The Presidium stressed however that one should find such solutions that would not undermine the economic reform pursued by the government and that would be equitable in the social feeling.

The fact that the last strike showed absolute necessity to prepare trade union tools (primarily the trade union law) that would make it possible to effectively solve problems of various working groups was an important conclusion from the events for the union.

A meeting of the National Commission will be held on June 6. Apart from current questions, the meeting will discuss the union's stand on the government privatization draft and unemployment problems (as part of preparations for talks on this topic to be held at the end of June).

Council of Ministers Approves Budget Report

LD3105124190 Warsaw PAP in English
1030 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 31—The Council of Ministers debating here last night heard and approved a report by the finance minister on the 1989 state budget.

It was stressed in the report that the budget was changed several times during the year and the final shape of the budget law for 1989 was defined at the end of October. Intensive stabilization moves taken by the Mazowiecki government in the last two months of the year halted the disintegration of the financial system but could not eliminate the already accumulated budget deficit, the report said.

The report showed that the budget incomes amounted to 30.1 trillion zloties, spending to 33.7 trillion zloties, the central budget deficit reached 4.7 trillion zloties.

Prices in December 1989 were by 640 per cent higher than in the same month of 1988. The average pay grew faster than originally planned and its real value increased by 13.2 per cent. Also, the envisaged growth of the national income was not attained. The national income produced grew merely by 0.5 per cent, and the national income distributed by 2.8 per cent.

The Council of Ministers also approved a report on the current servicing of the state's 1989 foreign liabilities. It also adopted a draft law on the courts of appeal and on the change of the laws on: the system of common courts, civil code, criminal code, Supreme Court and National Board of Courts. The proposed regulation is intended to create a three-tier system of common courts.

The Council of Ministers also adopted a resolution on the establishment of a National School of Public Administration, to be based on the best patterns of most prestigious Western schools of that type. Simultaneously, a decision was adopted on the liquidation of the Adminstration and Management Institute to begin as of June 1 and end on September 30 of this year.

West European, Polish Defense Ministers Meet

LD2705222290 Warsaw PAP in English
2105 GMT 27 May 90

[By PAP special reporter Krzysztof Mroziewicz]

[Text] Narvik, May 27: Defence Ministers of Norway, France, Great Britain and Poland, that is of state-members of two opposing military blocks, are jointly debating for the first time after World War Two. The meeting coincides with the 50th anniversary of the battle of Narvik where troops of the four countries fought against Hitler's forces.

Polish Defence Minister, General Florian Siwicki was of the opinion that meetings in Oslo and in Narvik held in such a composition showed that Europe, caring for its security, is able to diminish differences and to solve in a joint effort problems linked with the unification of Germany.

Member of the Polish delegation, Defence Vice-Minister Bronislaw Komorowski stressed that speaking about disarmament one must look for supplementary forms of detente. This is true especially of the elimination of stereotypes of the enemy as a military target. Such forms should include cooperation in culture, sport and training. Poland's stand found understanding among partners, who envisaged steps aimed to change the defence doctrine.

As for the German question, Poland is not against the presence of united Germany in NATO, but stresses the necessity of fixing the upper limit of armaments on the continent and in respective countries.

Minister Siwicki invited his Norwegian counterpart Per Ditlev- Simonsen to pay an official visit to Poland. The invitation was received with satisfaction.

On Sunday, the four defence ministers arrived in Narvik, visited also by King Olaf V. Guests of the Norwegian defence minister toured a local museum of war. Present was also Rear Admiral Kazimierz Bossy of Poland, who commands a team of ships: The "Gryf" and "Wodnik". The Polish side presented special medals coined in Poland in connection with the 50th anniversary of the participation of Poles in the Narvik operation.

Mazowiecki on Economic Reform

LD2505173590 Warsaw PAP in English
1630 GMT 25 May 90

[Text] Brussels, May 25—Belgian daily LIECHO DE LA BOURSE carried today [25 May] an interview with Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki devoted to the economic reform in Poland.

Head of the Polish Government said in part: I think, that I may confirm that we are not trying to create a new system that has not yet been proven. We are rather trying to take advantage of ideas which passed the test of life. We really do not have means to pay for experiments.

Poland already went through the experience of real socialism and it was very expensive. That is why we prefer to apply solutions which have been tested elsewhere.

However, this does not mean that certain lasting and original elements, which originated from the social situation and from positive experiences, will not be applied in the transition from communism to democracy, from centralized to market economy, said the premier.

France Signs Debt Rescheduling Accord

LD3005084890 Warsaw PAP in English
1705 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Paris, May 29—Immediately after the ceremony founding the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Polish Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz and French Minister for the Economy and Finance Pierre Beregovoy signed an agreement on the re-scheduling of Polish debt to France.

The general re-scheduling principles had been agreed upon in February this year within the so-called Paris Club. They concern Polish commitments regarding French Government-guaranteed credits falling due by 31 March 1991 (almost 8 billion francs).

These dues have now been re-scheduled for 14 years, with an 8-year grace period which means that for the first 8 years since the signing of the document Poland will not be repaying principal instalments but only interest depending on a changeable market rate, now 9 per cent.

Mazowiecki on Second Day of Paris Talks

LD2905184690 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1730 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Good evening. Premier Mazowiecki is on the second day of his Paris visit on 29 May. The second round of talks between Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Michel Rocard were held this morning. Like yesterday, the main topic was the economy.

[Begin recording] [Mazowiecki] There is the will on both sides to intensify these [as heard] relations, and the belief that the development of Polish democracy and the development of the Polish economy in the direction of a free market is a permanent and stable development.

[Unidentified reporter] Deputy Premier Balcerowicz, who was in Washington recently, put forward the idea of an 80 percent reduction in the Polish debt. Has this matter been discussed in France, and what is Paris' position?

[Mazowiecki] Of course it was discussed. We discuss it everywhere we can. Where were we supposed to discuss it, if not in Paris? Where were we to count on greater understanding than here? I think there is a great deal of understanding for the importance to Poland of getting this problem settled. I think we can count here on France's understanding, on France's help—although I don't know if it will be in the form we initially proposed—and in the search for other solutions. [end recording]

Reports of Death, Damages From Earthquakes

AU3105075790

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 0400 GMT on 31 May begins its regularly schedule newscast with an announcement from the "Earth Physics Center" reporting that "on 31 May 1990 at 0318 [0018 GMT] an earthquake took place in the Vrancea area at a depth of 100 km, which had a magnitude of 5.8 degrees on the Richter scale. The intensity of the quake in the area of the epicenter was 6 degrees on the Mercalli scale. The earthquake was felt in Bucharest and had a magnitude of 5 degrees. So far there were no reports of casualties or damage caused by this earthquake."

The newscast continues with a report on the earthquake on 30 May whose epicenter was also in the Vrancea area. The announcer says that earthquake was felt in "Bucharest, in other localities in the country, and in some of the neighboring countries."

The announcer adds that "in accordance with the data provided by the General Police Inspectorate, yesterday's earthquake claimed 8 dead: two in Bucharest, two in Braila County, and one in each of the counties of Ialomita, Buzau, Brasov, and Prahova. A total of 360 people were injured, 100 seriously, namely: 35 in Bucharest, 14 in Bacau, three in Brasov, 11 in Braila, one in Dolj, 12 in Galati, four in Ialomita, 14 in Prahova, one in Vaslui, and two in Vrancea. Two-hundred and sixty-two people were slightly injured, namely: 103 in Bucharest, 16 in Bacau, 14 in Brasov, 47 in Braila, seven in Covasna, 20 in Dolj, 10 in Galati, eight in Ialomita, 20 in Prahova, and one person in Vrancea. All of them were hurt by crumbling chimneys and falling pieces of construction materials from the upper floors of buildings." [all figures as heard]

The announcer concludes his report by saying that "according to reports received from other central bodies, there was no damage caused to hydropower facilities and the water from the public supply is drinkable."

Iliescu, Roman News Conference 25 May

AU2605162090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1705 GMT 25 May 90

[News conference with President Ion Iliescu and Prime Minister Petre Roman by local and foreign reporters at Victory Palace in Bucharest on 25 May—recorded]

[Text] [Iliescu] I was asked who is going to be the [National Salvation] Front's [NSF] president, because, according to the provisions of the Electoral Law, which also contains certain constitutional provisions, the elected president, who is usually the candidate of a party, is obliged—after being elected, confirmed as such, and accepted by the parliament—to resign his party position. He becomes the president of the whole country and no longer represents just one party. Therefore, it is only natural that I should resign as NSF [National Salvation Front] president; however, it is not me who decides who will be the new NSF president. This is a issue that the NSF leadership will solve in the coming period.

[Unidentified reporter, in French with superimposed translation into Romanian] Mr. President, I have been a press correspondent in Romania for the past seven years. I witnessed the elections and the revolution. The Romanian television reported the arrest of a Romanian citizen in possession of 40,000 leaflets calling on the people to rally at University Square. Mr. President, in view of the fact that this information has reached us, journalists, and that the Ministry of the Interior is aware of this case, would you tell us whether there have been any consequences? Who was behind those leaflets? This is the first question, well, there are many of us here, so I will limit myself to this question. Thank you.

[Iliescu] I do not know whether the prime minister has additional information about this. As far as I am concerned, I, like you, learned about this incident from TV—I just happened to be watching TV. So, aside from what I heard on TV, I have no other details about this case; all I know is what I heard there—that is, he allegedly received some money and named the party that allegedly employed him to distribute the leaflets. [Several people speak at once] This case is still being investigated, several statements were made. It is up to the enquiry to confirm these allegations.

[Lupu] Nicolae Lupu, of Rome ANSA. Mr. President, how do you view the question of immediate institutionalization [word indistinct] as the only possible democratic process, as opposed to the assumption that the provisional state will continue until the constitution is adopted? I am talking here about observing the rules of the game, namely, the concept of majority versus minority and the use of debates, including extraparliamentary forms of expression.

[Iliescu] Of course, we have a rather difficult political period ahead of us and, as someone said, this more-than-clear-cut NSF majority has both its advantages and disadvantages. The forthcoming period will not be simple. It will be a complicated period for the national economy, for the country's social life, and for the political climate. As I have already said, I hope that this orientation will be properly understood and followed by those who belong to the parliament as NSF representatives and by the NSF as a political group. This is an important political issue. We should remain open to as broad a cooperation as possible with other political forces, regardless of their current proportion, which is, anyway, a temporary one, conditioned by the present circumstances. The balance of power can change in the future. The next two years are going to be complicated ones for the country. We must draw up the new constitution and formulate all kinds of legislative regulations to ensure the stability of the country's political, social, and economic life. We must take concrete steps within the strategic program for the Romanian economy's transition from a rigid and centralized one to a market economy. We must also adopt social measures to solve many problems regarding wages and living and working conditions. We must strive for a certain harmony in the political arena, for deepening and expanding the dialogue between forces and trends, and for promoting communication between various social strata and so forth.

Therefore, all these requirements imply a larger framework for understanding and cooperation within the parliament—both in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, and in the two chambers when they meet in common session as the country's Constituent Assembly to draft the new constitution. I believe that the first steps taken by the parliament after the validation of the deputies and senators will be the organizational structuring of the parliament, from this phase of [word indistinct] framework of constructive cooperation with all political groups. The presidential institution must find its place and role in the dialogue with the parliament, the government, and the political groups and must fulfill its role as mediator among all political forces and institutions in the country, thus ensuring the necessary harmony for tackling and solving all these problems.

We must set up the government, which should be submitted to the parliament's approval. We want to do this in a very democratic way, namely each minister should be separately confirmed by the parliament and its commissions. Consequently, we believe that all this requires the kind of institutional framework that can facilitate the extension and development of this cooperation.

At the same time, I take this opportunity to expound on a few other considerations and say that it is the NSF's great political responsibility to become a political grouping, which is up to the responsibilities entrusted to it by the people. The people have given great credit to the Front as an idea and platform. However, this also implies great exactness when it comes to the quality of this grouping, which should represent what the people believe it does: The Front should be the exponent of those basic interests and problems in need of a solution and the true promoter of these interests under (?exceptional) and difficult conditions. Of course, the Front should not concern itself so much with solving these problems—this is a matter for governmental bodies—but rather should be the banner carrier of the struggle for the moral purification of Romanian society against all forms of corruption. One of the most difficult problems inherited from prerevolutionary times refers to human relations and the society's moral life; I am talking about the spiritual and [word indistinct] pollution of the Romanian society. We have seen various forms of corruption in the past, linked to the influence exercised by the power structures on the people's mentality and behavior. We have witnessed the emergence of various forms of (?servilism) and parasitism from people fighting to line their pockets, cling to power, and climb up the social ladder. These bad habits still exist, and it is high time that we get rid of them. However, new bad habits are emerging due to the power of the attraction of money and wealth and the corruptive power of wealth. In these months of so-called pseudo-democratization, we saw many forms of corruption with money and other temptations. These forms will intensify in the context of the market economy, free enterprise, and so forth. Alongside the healthy elements of developing the dynamism of the socioeconomic life, there will also be various forms of social parasitism. Therefore, I suggested to my NSF colleagues that they should discuss this problem in the political forum. The NSF should become the political grouping to launch a nationwide struggle against any kind of corruption of the people's minds, mentality, and behavior. The NSF should become the front, the party of the incorruptibles in Romania. This is my wish now, when I am on the verge of parting with this political group.

[Unidentified Romanian reporter] I saw you, Mr. President, making the sign of the cross at the religious service for the Ascension at the Patriarchy church. I would like to know whether you have become a believer and since when and whether you would look favorably upon a visit by Pope John Paul II to Romania.

[Iliescu] I am not a believer; I am a free thinker. I was baptized in the Christian Orthodox Church, but as I developed intellectually, I became a free thinker. However, I am not an arrogant or aggressive atheist. I have never shown either a lack of respect or aggression toward believers. I have always respected them. In my family, the elders—my grandparents' generation—were profoundly religious people, and I respected them as such. The same goes for all those I have known. The sign of the cross I made yesterday was not the expression of my belief in God but a sign of respect for those who participated in this service. We have not yet had such contact at such a level but we would be pleased to [?see in Romania] [passage indistinct]. I would be honored by the presence of the pope in Romania.

[Unidentified Japanese newspaper reporter] I would like to ask you two questions if possible. You have stated repeatedly your intention to form a coalition government. Do you think this is possible? The second question is what is your assessment of the military blocs? They are a little obsolete, are they not?

[Iliescu] I cannot yet give you a concrete answer as to what my mission will be. My part will be limited to appointing the prime minister. Upon his being approved by the parliament, he will be the one to present the government team to the parliament. This also presumes preliminary consultations with representatives of the parties to establish the platform on which this [coalition] is feasible and the way in which a coalition can be achieved. As far as I myself am concerned and as far as we as a political group are concerned, we are in favor of a coalition, regardless of its form. I have mentioned this further opening of ours and would like to work together with other political groups. What this new form will look like is something that will be discussed in the contacts with all the groups that have representatives in parliament. However, the main idea is that the government should consist of highly competent people, regardless of political groups, perhaps from no political group whatsoever, people who are independent of a party but who possess the competence and the moral traits needed for a very difficult mission, that which will be the mission of the government in this period.

As regards military blocs, we are in favor of the disappearance of the military blocs in Europe. I think that the latest political developments and the prospects opening up for these developments promise an authentic [word indistinct]. There will be a Warsaw Pact meeting where this subject will be discussed. Already in our previous contacts, we discussed the idea of changing as we go along the essence of this treaty, the size of the share to be taken by political relations.

[Morozov] Mr. Morozov [not further identified], of Tass. The Japanese colleague stole our question. I wanted to ask you, Mr. President, what is your idea about the future government coalition and what [?problems] will arise during your talks with all the interested parties. Secondly, there is the question that now after the National Salvation Front' clear-cut victory, the problem of relations between Romania and the Soviet Union will become more concrete. In this connection ,I would like you to comment on speculations about the Bush-Gorbachev talks in Malta and also what you expect from the forthcoming Bush-Gorbachev meeting in a few days' time.

[Iliescu] I believe that on the first point, that of the government coalition, things are clear. Regarding our relations with the Soviet Union, I hope they will remain and continue to develop on the basis [words indistinct] regardless of the political color of any Romanian government. It is in Romania's national interest to have good relations with all neighbors and first of all with its biggest neighbor, the Soviet Union. This is not dictated by the political color of the new government but by Romanian national interests. I hope that these interests will be suitably promoted by the political leadership and the government of Romania at any given time. The best lesson was given us by a foreign minister, a member of the National Peasants' Party, Nicolae Titulescu, who was a big patriot and a high-class politician who understood the need to act in Romania's national interest and not in the spirit of narrow party interests. This lesson must remain valid for any political group and for any Romanian government. As regards Malta and Yalta and all speculations by a certain press, we will not deal with this matter in the spirit of press speculations. The way in which international issues are tackled within the framework of relations between the two world superpowers is naturally of importance but, now more than ever, each state and each country has its role to play and, moreover, the way in which the entire international community works together and contributes to the tackling and solving of international issues is important. It was not in Malta that the fate of the Romanian Revolution and the revolutionary changes in Romania were decided but in Bucharest and throughout the country, in Timisoara, Bucharest and everywhere. It is in Bucharest that Romania's political line will be decided and nowhere else.

We are awaiting with interest the Bush-Gorbachev meeting and hope it will bring a positive contribution to international detente and help promote the favorable atmosphere witnessed lately regarding political developments in Europe.

[Oprica] Constantin Oprica, of ROMPRES. Mr. President, could you complete the answer by dealing with the relations with other countries of the world and, if possible, with the foreign policy and [words indistinct].

[Iliescu] We had the opportunity before to deal with this issue. We declared the opening of Romania toward the world as a fundamental principle of foreign policy as early as the evening of 22 December, a fact that we turned into reality through the practical actions of foreign policy we adopted, that is through measures aimed at eradicating those previous decisions that had given a rigid note to the Romanian policy within international political bodies or in the country's relations with various states. Thus we have opened all windows so that fresh air can permeate the entire foreign policy of Romania. As far as I and the government stemming from the new parliament are concerned, we will continue decisively toward a consolidation of these Romanian foreign policy guidelines, that is of unhindered relations with all states, promoting in time good relations with our neighbors—I have said before and I will say again—including Hungary and the relations in which certain overtones of misunderstanding and tension have occurred, I would say sometimes artificially fanned. I hope we will find a common language with the Hungarian political leadership to restore the climate of friendship, understanding, and cooperation that is in the interest of both our states. With the other countries with whom we have traditionally had good relations, in Europe in general, we hope to achieve an unhindered cooperation with all European states, including with the EEC, with whom we hope to establish increasingly friendly and developing relations. With all the world states and the United States, we hope to achieve a better atmosphere. We appreciate the seriousness with which the U.S. Government and President Bush, in particular, tackled the invitation to send observers—this was the largest team of observers, including serious and representative personalities—who objectively reflected that which they observed during the elections. We have positive echoes from the United States in connection with the manner in which the issue of relations with Romania is being tackled. We hope to see the same thing happening with all world states. In the UN and other international bodies, we intend to show Romania as being actively present so that Romania represents a positive factor in improving the international political climate.

[Corina] Dragotescu Corina, of ADEVARUL. Mr. Iliescu, we know that independent candidates were also included on the lists of the Front. What is the status of these independent candidates from the moment they were included on the Front lists. Do you think they may in the future constitute an opposition nucleus within parliament?

[Iliescu] I have one such candidate next to me right now, Mrs. Maria Manoliu, who is an NSF senator without actually being a member of the Front. These are individuals who have agreed to run for the new Romanian parliament within the election lists of the National Salvation Front. We do not see this group of senators and deputies as a monolithic bloc that would lead a sectarian policy within parliament. The very fact that we have invited independent persons, individuals from scientific, cultural, and public life to join the Front's electoral lists demonstrates the opening up of the Front to wide representation of Romanian public life. This will ensure that the future Romanian parliament will include representative personalities and highly competent men and women. This new institutional structure, the new parliament, in its two chambers and joint sessions, which is called to draw up the constitutional law of the country and lay the foundations of a new legislative structure of democratic Romania, should be able to do its work at an appropriately high standard. We see this as a positive element, and we do not view with suspicion the presence of the independents; we do not regard them as foreign agents within the parliamentary groups of the Front. We look upon them as people with whom we can cooperate actively in a common cause, the national cause that we must all serve.

[?Labrow] Mr. (?Labrow) [not further identified], of the U.S.-Romanian Committee. If I may say so, in January or February you expressed the view that political pluralism, that is a multiparty system, was obsolete. What do you think now after your victory?

[Iliescu] This is an interpretation, and not at all a faithful one, of what I said. I spoke of political pluralism and I expressed a view that political pluralism does not limit itself to a multiparty system, to the mere existence of several parties. I started from the premise that in any case political pluralism started from the idea of the existence of several parties, of several political groups. Thus, the free political organization of society within various political groups, which represent various political and ideological trends, should in turn represent various cross sections of the Romanian society. That was my premise in any case but I was saying that in today's world in general, the idea of pluralism has widened and acquired new tones.

Political pluralism does not limit itself to the existence of several parties. The countries with very long democratic traditions, the United States and Britain, are in fact relying on the existence of only two parties. Can political pluralism in America limit itself to the expression of [words indistinct] of the two parties alone? American political life would then be too poor if the only expression of pluralism were to be reflected through the political platform of two parties. It would then mean that America would be politically the most backward country if it did not manage to have but two parties. I think that pluralism is wider and more complex than that. This was the idea I was explaining then. I was saying that in Europe, for example, there is a certain aversion toward certain parties or toward the idea of party. Groups bearing different names have started springing up that represent something else, like the Greens, the ecology movements, which are not merely movements for the protection of environment but have also become groups with political nuances that participate in the electoral competition, as well as other manifestations of the idea of pluralism. But people who claim not to have understood what I said or who carp on mere details, nuances, and formulations in order to misinterpret the thoughts of others have also misinterpreted what I said.

[Roman] Mr. Carol Roman, of the Turkish paper SABAH. Mr. President, the readers of SABAH, the most popular Turkish newspaper, followed events in Romania with great interest. I would like you to tell us what role you apportion to the Balkans and, in particular, I am referring to relations with Turkey within Romanian foreign policy? Some thoughts for the future or perhaps some ideas....

[Iliescu] As I was saying within the general foreign policy line, within the framework of the wide opening up that we are trying to promote through our foreign policy, the relations with the neighboring countries will have priority. It is natural that, if you want to have relations with other countries you should start by having good relations with your neighbors. From this point of view, Romania has traditionally been a factor of equilibrium in the Balkans and we hope that in the new circumstances Romania will continue to play an active role and have very good relations with all Balkan countries. We have also followed your interest keenly. We even had a delegation in Turkey last month, and we noted the interest shown in Turkey toward political developments in Romania. Relations between us go back a long time. Many historic facts link us not only negatively but also positively. We are convinced that in the near future our relations will undoubtedly develop in a positive manner. We would like that.

[Shova] Mr. Shova [not further identified], of [name indistinct] Bangladesh paper. If people say in democracy they number the heads but not the weight of the heads, what do you think of that?

[Iliescu] I do not know if I understand the meaning of that question. I followed several debates on this theme and I think that this is what you are asking me: There are [indistinct words] opinions regarding democracy, whether all votes have the same value, whether an illiterate person or someone with very scant education must have the same weight when expressing political options as a highly educated person or, as someone was saying, a Nobel Prize winner. Is it correct, is it good, does this mean democracy? When a Nobel Prize winner has one vote and so has someone who is illiterate? I believe the question expresses an antidemocratic or at least an undemocratic opinion. This is the very meaning of this acquisition, this achievment of modern democracy: It gives the right of expression even to the simple man because the latter may not be educated but sometimes has more common sense than others, so I believe that when it is a matter of giving one's opinion about the major issues regarding the country's political line, all citizens must enjoy equal rights, regardless of their degree of education. This is one achievement of the modern, democratic development of society.

[Hurezeanu] Emil Hurezeanu, of Radio Free Europe. You were saying at a news conference a few days ago that certain antipatriotic circles are active in exile. It so happens that on the same day, the NSF daily published an article that was highly critical of the Romanian section of Radio Free Europe, headlined "The midnight grave diggers." I never read even in Ceausescu's time an article as criticial of Radio Free Europe as this. Among other things, the radio station was being accused of antipatriotism. Is there any connection between what you understood by the antipatriotism of certain exile circles and what the daily AZI understands by Radio Free Europe's antipatriotism?

[Iliescu] Hmm, I have not read the AZI article, so I cannot refer to either the article or what you were saying. However, I was bitterly noting certain things. I think that the old leadership's hostile policy toward emigration has been a big mistake, not to mention a very stupid thing. The emigration was treated, as a whole, with hostility and even the term traitor to the country was used against all those who stayed outside the country. They did not even distinguish between the very different reasons that made people decide to stay abroad on the one hand and, on the other hand, the general phenomenon prevailing now in the world that people from one country should want to settle in other countries. From this point of view I regard [?emigration] as natural. But I also considered it natural that after the December revolution the Romanian emigration should close ranks around the country at a difficult moment. I referred first of all to circles existing even within the country, political groups that took stands I would term as unpatriotic, which wanted to be hostile to the Romanian government, including making instigatory calls to various business circles and asking them not respond to the desire of the Romanian government and of the current political leadership for an opening up to business or the granting of most-favored-nation status. I deplored this mentality, which I termed unpatriotic. It is one thing to have certain debates within the country—there will always be such debates—because in a democracy there will always be groups to govern and groups in the opposition. There will always be divergent or even contradictory viewpoints, there will be debates, internal political struggle. This is one thing but when it is a matter of defending national interests outside, I think that all the country's citizens, be they within or outside the country, should join forces to defend national interests. I made the distinction that there are, among those who emigrated, people who maintain a hostile attitude toward the country. That is all I said. I did not extend this assessment to Radio Free Europe. I must say that I no longer am able to follow Radio Free Europe casts because I have very little free time. I can barely follow the Romanian TV that I am accused of manipulating. I do not even have time to read all the newspapers, only here and there. I no longer have the pleasure of listening to Radio Free Europe so I cannot give any opinions about it, but I hope that even Radio Free Europe, particularly those working there—who in turn are somewhat dependent on a certain financial situation that determines the political position of this radio station—are still Romanian at heart and cannot fail to be sensitive to what is happening in this country. [passage indistinct]

[Letherer, in English with superimposed translation into Romanian] Mrs. Edith Letherer from Associated Press. Mr. President, the leader of the American delegation of presidential observers, Garrey Carruthers, said that the future of relations between the United States and Romania depends on the government's initiative to form an independent commission of investigation into the accusations of electoral fraud. The U.S senator also added that what was necessary, first of all, in Romania was that there should be an independent and free mass media network, particularly television, as a foundation for creating a democracy. At the news conference on 23 May you said there would be no independent commission and that you would oppose an independent TV station. What have you got against these democratic institutions? Do you think this may affect the granting of most-favored-nation status? I have a second short question for the prime minister, Mr. Roman. Today, six groups from among those demonstrating in the University Square issued a statement offering the alternative of protest demonstrations once a week instead of a permanent one. Have you any grounds for optimism in connection with a solution to this situation?

[Iliescu] I will answer this first. I personally talked with Mr. Carruthers and I know exactly what he said at his news conference, to what conclusions the group of (?observers) has arrived, and what he intends to convey to President Bush. Yes. At the beginning, Mr. Carruthers had absolutely positive opinions about his observations on the elections in Romania. He said that he personally could not ascertain any instance of fraud. He was informed of various incidents by representatives of opposition parties. He does not deny that all sorts of irregularities might have occurred, but this happens in all countries in the world. He advised us that it would be a good idea to set up an independent commission to investigate all these claims. I told Mr. Carruthers that there already exists such an independent commission, something that was even stipulated by the Electoral Law, namely the Central Electoral Bureau [CEB], consisting of seven Supreme Court judges who were voted on by secret ballot in the Supreme Court itself. Mr. Carruthers himself was thinking of such a legal body to conduct the investigation. Therefore, there exists the CEB, which was completed with 10 representatives of 10 parties from among the parties that fielded the largest number of candidates in the elections. He agreed that this commission has the authority conferred on it by law to pass independent and neutral judgments on all possible irregularities during the elections.

Second, how did you come to the conclusion that Romanian television is not independent? Romanian television does not depend on the government. It is subordinated to the state body, which currently is the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC]. The PNUC Executive Bureau did not and does not exert any kind of control or censorship over the television. Here is a representative of the television who can personally explain to you the way in which the television operates, whether it receives any precious recommendations, and whether it is subject to control from any governmental body or even from the PNUC president, whom people think has many opportunities to intervene in very many spheres of the public life. This is really going a bit too far.

In connection with the television, I would like to say something else. We would like to have more chances to extend TV broadcasts throughout the country. Unfortunately, we are faced with technical limitations. At this time, we only have two TV channels—one that can be received throughout the country, and the second one, which can only be received in certain parts of the country. Therefore, we have many limitations of a technical nature. In the future, we should strive to expand TV reception.

Second, [number as heard] in view of our goal to expand the TV coverage, I was told by the relevant experts that we can have four TV channels. Therefore, all these four channels must be accessible to everyone, without any limit imposed on the access of all political orientations. The TV programs should satisfy not only political goals, but also the basic end-user, namely the citizens. That is why we were somewhat reluctant to let one of these channels be owned by someone, who could then make arbitrary decisions and monopolize a channel, when we can only have four channels altogether. Regardless of their future statute—public or private institutions—all four channels must be free and must ensure free access to the most diverse TV options and demands. We want to hamper anyone from monopolizing any one of these channels on Romanian territory.

[Unidentified speaker] Mr. President, my name is...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] One moment, please, the question put to the prime minister....

[Roman, interrupting] Apropos the communique of the six political groups, they have already received an answer from us [word indistinct]. Therefore, this communique received from the political groups—in spite of its many erroneous assessments of the government and its activity—clearly proves readiness to come closer to a democratic and peaceful way for progress toward extinguishing that state of conflict and nonstop demonstrations. Therefore, we must...[short pause] there now exists a first positive and important element for favorably resolving this situation in the University Square, by also taking into consideration the choice of those who demonstrated in the University Square.

[Ionescu] Victor Ionescu, of Romanian television. Mr. President, among other things, these elections proved two points: First, that the Front is the strongest party with the largest public audience; second, that the historical parties, I am referring to the great historical parties, failed to gain the opposition role they would have liked; and third, and this is the subject of my question, the second political force in this country will be, quite surprisingly so, the party of the Romanian Magyars. My question is: How do you think one should cooperate with this political group in the future, that is with the main opposition force, in view of the fact that the Magyar population's massive endorsement of that party's platform indicates a preservation of national tensions in Romania and that their massive vote against you is also an indication of a certain tension? This was the question.

[Iliescu] Yes. It is true that the Magyar population voted massively, en-masse for the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania [MDUR], which also reflects their electoral representation: In the Chamber, they will probably have the same number of votes, the same number of deputies as the National Liberal Party [NLP]—that is about 29 MDUR representatives and 29 NLP; in the Senate, according to information to date, there will be 12 MDUR senators and 10 NLP. Indeed, it will be the second grouping. This is not necessarily a bad thing. It is also good because it means that we will have the possibility of discussion with the authoritative representatives of the Magyar population. We have never shown and do not show any kind of hostility toward the Magyar population and its demands. We hope to clarify, in a relatively short period of time, all the problems and divergent positions that have emerged recently and to establish a language of good understanding, cooperation, and collaboration with both their representatives and with the Magyar population itself.

Generally, we believe that we are duty bound—and I am sure we will do this—to create the necessary conditions for all the national minorities in the country to exercise all their rights, to have equal rights with the Romanian population, and to be equal citizens of this country. I believe that we have already created conditions for their broad assertion, conditions that already exist today. Even the fact that the Magyar population has such a broad representation in the country's parliament—which reflects the percentage of the Magyar population—is proof of the broadly democratic nature of the Electoral Law in Romania. I would like to know of similar situations in other countries where such a policy is being reflected in the same way, [words indistinct] on other planes, too. In this respect, I believe that we currently have such a freedom of speech for the Magyar population and for other minorities that no critical remarks—about the possibilities we are offering to the minorities, compared with those offered by any other country in the world—are warranted. However, there are certain sensitivities in this area, which are nurtured by various historical events and by other factors that accumulated with the passage of time. Still, in the conditions of an open and democratic life, it is impossible not to find appropriate and adequate solutions to all these issues.

[GUARDIAN reporter, in English, with superimposed translation into Romanian] [Name indistinct], of THE GUARDIAN. Mr. President, in previous months the Front has often claimed that it is a new phenomenon in the European politics—neither communist, nor capitalist—but rather a third way, free from limitations imposed by party politics. Could you tell us more about this third way and how will you act (?for) the Front in the next parliament. [Several people speak at same time] [words indistinct] neocommunism and capitalism?

[Iliescu] I have never referred to the third way because I think that things crystallize in the contemporary social-political life in quite different ways than the schematic manner in which these things were tackled until recently. The experience of West Europe shows this clearly, including our own experience. Therefore, in all I have said when speaking about the complete break with the past of the old regime, both from an idelogical point of view and from that of political practice, we would hesitate to define in a schematic way our political or ideological lines or to define very clearly and precisely the NSF and place it into a particular political movement. We feel that contemporary development imposes a realistic approach that starts from the realities of the economic-social life of each country [words indistinct] and that this orientation stems from the social-historic themes specific to each country. Therein lies the idea of an original character when speaking of a specifically Romanian model that we will have to create by starting from Romanian realities. This does not mean that we want to avoid a democratic development of the country, as it was misinterpreted by some who said that by putting forth the idea of an original character we mean to supply a new cover, a new name for the resumption of the old, undemocratic, and communist past of the totalitarianism that existed in Romania in the past, and recommended that we should use a democratic model already in existence in other countries. I then asked: What particular model would best be suited to Romania? The French democracy model or the Swedish one, the American or the West German, the British or the Italian? Because I do not think that the political, economic, and social structures of these countries, all of which have a democratic practice and tradition, are identical. Therefore, why should we copy something that has not been copied elsewhere? That we should be duty bound to take into account the entire experience of the history of development of human thought and social practice and of contemporary social-economic development, of world trends to promote technological, technical-scientific and social-economic progress, I regard as compulsory. How can anyone transpose anything exactly as it is to Romania, when so much depends on the given structure from which we start, on the state of development of Romanian society, on our economic potential, on the degree of understanding and the level of education, on the structuring of the public, social and political life in Romania and so on. Our historic traditions, even the Romanian temperament comes into play. All this comes into the idea of the original character, and it is not a question of a third or 10th way. It is a question of a way imposed by contemporary realities, on the one hand, and Romanian realities generated by the December revolution on the other hand.

[Announcer] Mr. President, we have to end as we have already exceeded the allotted time by five minutes. We thank you, Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, ladies and gentlemen.

Iliescu's 'Skeptical Realism' Criticized

AU2905105390 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 23 May 90 p 3

[B. Marian article: "'It Will Be Very Difficult': A Frame of Mind"]

[Text] Mr. Iliescu keeps repeating again and again: "It will be extremely difficult. We are facing an extremely serious situation. We will be confronted by complex and very difficult problems, and we will have to overcome crises and critical situations, etc., etc...."

It seems that we are dealing with a skeptic. However, he says that this is realism. And everybody believes him (why this unlimited trust in the National Salvation Front [NSF] members?). In the face of this skeptical realism, the optimism of such a man as Ion Ratiu becomes hazardous and the "wisdom" and "weighing" of the Romanian citizen firmly and rapidly opts for Mr. Iliescu.

Mr. Iliescu is right: It will be difficult; it will be very difficult. But we have to have complete confidence: Our "elected," the "much beloved and esteemed" emanation of the revolution has enough gray matter for all of us put together. What do we care about why and how? He will solve everything; he will cope (with all) for all of us! What is important for us is to be confident, to leave him alone, so that he can do whatever he wants and whatever he can because he can (?) and because he wants the things that we do and he wants things for us (unquestioningly!); consequently, we want (anything and in any way) the things he does. "Consequently and therefore," a majority of the Romanians think that it is very good if things are as they were in the past (the not too distant one), when we left the knowledge, control, and management of affairs to our "representatives" and "chosen ones," affairs that concerned all of us and that were, in fact, our lives. Thus, it is very good for us to have confidence and to let others think, know, and decide for us, that is, to become slaves again who are opposed to democracy and completely deprived of it, to view ourselves as too stupid to know—we, the many—what is happening to our problems. Let us agree that they are too serious and beyond us and that it is better to leave their "just" and "wise" solution to others.

This is how we Romanians get caught by the big trap of "wisdom," of wisdom wrongly understood, which we HAVE (?) [all capitalized as published] to leave to others, which we attribute to others, thus refraining from racking our own brain.

This is how we Romanians give way, fooled by ourselves and fooled by our own snugness and cowardice from thinking for ourselves, from facing problems, and from verifying how serious they really are.

True, we are faced by very complex situations and days, and a great deal of work is needed. But the way is very long between this point and being terror-stricken and awed by "wisdom" and Mr. Iliescu's "weighing" and our being blinded and the suicide of our conscience (it will be difficult, it will be very difficult, but you go about your own business and do not lift your eyes from the ground!).

In fact, Mr. Iliescu does not inform us honestly about how complex and serious problems in Romania are. He does it with skepticism (or "realism") and reservation toward "optimistic" positions; he wants nothing but to intimidate us, paralyze our thoughts, and make us consciously agree to his (personal, unique, and singular) superiority and power to solve everything, and on behalf of all of us.

Nicu Ceausescu's Trial Postponed Until 25 Jun

AU3005200590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1925 GMT 30 May 90

["Justice—Trial in Sibiu"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/5/1990—During the Wednesday [30 May] session of the trial on defendant Nicu Ceausescu charged with genocide crimes and nonobservance of weapons and ammunition rules, a case judged by the Military section of the Bucharest Tribunal in Sibiu, the court examined and approved the requests advanced by the prosecutor and the lawyer for the acceptance of further witnesses and evidence apt to establish the truth.

The case was postponed for June 25, 1990.

Andruta Ceausescu Trial To Resume 12 Jun

AU3005193090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1732 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/5/1990—The Military Section of the Supreme Court of Justice continued the judicial investigation in the trial versus Ceausescu Andruta Nicolae on Wednesday [30 May], when 17 witnesses were heard, most of them cadres of the officers' school of the Ministry of the Interior, who took part in the events on December 21 and 22, 1989 in one form of another.

After a break, taken because of the earthquake, the presiding judge asked the defense and prosecution counsels about the opportuneness of continuing the hearing. The prosecution requested that another two witnesses be heard and the defense counsels asked that the file be returned to the prosecutor body and that the defendant be released until penal investigation was over.

After deliberations, the court decided to sustain the prosecution's request the hearing of another two witnesses and rejected the request of the defense.

The trial will resume on June 12, 1990.

Government Boats Counter Danube Sailors' Strike

AU3005150390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1524 GMT 30 May 90

["Steps To Diminish the Effects of the River Navigators'Strike"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/5/1990—Considering the implications of the strike staged by the Free Trade Union of River Navigators of Romania, especially as concerns the supply of raw materials to the Steel Combine in Galati, the Romanian Government decided that the tugboats of the Ministry of National Defense in the Galati-Braila area should take the barges from the port of Galati to the ore quays.

University Square Demonstration Continues

AU3105085390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0823 GMT 31 May 90

[Unattributed report: "Political Life: The Anticommunist Manifestation in the University Square"]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 31/5/1990—The anticommunist manifestation in University Square in Bucharest continued on Wednesday [30 May], too. At about 6 p.m. hundreds of people were in front of the National Theatre where on an improvised platform speeches were delivered by representatives of the people's alliance, the students' league, independents and hunger strikers.

New ideas were asserted: A sociopsychological poll to be made among demonstrators and another tactics to be adopted to gain the victory. The protesters also restated their claims: An independent television station to be installed and a dialogue with the country's president or the prime minister to be live broadcast.

The hunger strikers' health is critical, stated Dr. Dragos Nicolaescu, one of the three physicians who voluntarily give medical assistance. At nightfall, during a heavy rain, the crowd started to leave the square.

CEB Continues Work on Electoral Returns

AU2805084290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0752 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/5/1990—A week after the May 20 elections concluded, the Central Electoral Bureau [CEB] continues its activity.

As specified by Mr. Ovidiu Zarnescu, chairman of the CEB, it continues to complete the file for Romania's presidency which will be sent to the Higher Court of Justice for ratifying, as well as the files for the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate for ratifying the elections.

The Bureau also prepares for publication the list of the elections final returns.

Campeanu Says NLP To Participate as Opposition

AU2705162290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1504 GMT 27 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/5/1990—"The NLP [National Liberal Party] leadership has decided, in spite of the irregularities during the elections, to participate in the proceedings of the future parliament and make constructive opposition," stated Radu Campeanu, the party's chairman, loser presidential candidate, in a news conference given on May 26 at the Hotel Intercontinental in Bucharest.

"We will make constructive opposition, meaning an opposition that rejects systematic criticism but will criticize whatever we think that needs be criticized."

Since the elected parliament will have the character of a constituent assembly, it will debate first of all the drafting of the constitution, in which our participation will be very active," Radu Campeanu stressed.

Answering a question about the possible NLP participation in Romania's new government, Radu Campeanu mentioned that no proposal was advanced so far to that effect and that, given the election returns, such a proposal would be pointless.

Mr Campeanu assessed that the NLP had not been mistaken with regard to the content of the party's platform-program and liberal strategy. On the contrary, some liberal ideas were borrowed also by other parties, including the NSF, take privatization for instance. The NLP chairman admitted that tactical errors were made during the campaign, meaning that the ideas of the liberal platform could not be communicated in the peasant world, but that it had not been always the party's fault.

Speaking of the privatization process in Romania, Radu Campeanu stressed that in a near future the large industrial enterprises would continue to be state-owned. "Privatization, the way we see it, will be applied to what is being created now" and the newly created private sector will function for a shjrt while in parallel to the state sector. In future, the large industrial enterprises the participation of foreign capital on terms established by the Romanian party, that should include also international outlets for the respective products. Their privatization will have to proceed gradually, so as to avoid mounting unemployment and inflation, the NLP chairman mentioned.

'Cult of Truth' Must Be Resurrected

AU3105092690 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27 May 90 p 1

[Marcel Horodisteanu article: "There Is No Democracy Without Opposition"]

[Excerpts] I do not want to cast doubt on the correctness of the elections, and I confess that the results did not come as a very big surprise to me. I expected Mr. Iliescu to be elected president and the NSF [National Salvation Front] to win the majority of the votes, but the percentage, which is some counties exceeds 90 percent, is a record. Maybe those in Moldavia did not learn until the elections that Ceausescu no longer exists.

One can hardly talk about an electoral fraud, as the NSF had a "blind" trust in its success, a trust based on the fraud committed in the way of thinking and feeling of the great majority of people in the more than 40 years of communism and more than four months of NSF-ism.

Therefore, this "victory" over the people and at the expense of democracy gives no grounds for joy or commendation, not even for the winners.

Because, if anyone imagines that the Romanians will be satisfied with polenta and circuses, well, he is wrong. The first and primary need of this people so sorely tried by fate (for how much longer?), is the resurrection of the cult of truth. If lies continue to be prevalent, all "long-term scenarios" (be they five-year ones) will be in vain. If need be, we will put up with another year or two of hunger, cold, and hard work, but will no longer tolerate lies for a single moment. [passage omitted]

Still, many people confused communism with Ceausescu and the revolution with Iliescu. It is known that an animal held captive for several years becomes so accustomed to this way of life that, when somebody opens his cage or enclosure, the animal returns, after a few timid steps, to where it knows it will occasionally receive its portion of food and water. It seems that many of our countrymen managed to adapt themselves perfectly to the former system, and therefore they are scared and disturbed by any change these days. [passage omitted]

That is why I again feel the need to repeat the following, for those who do not know or pretend not to know: The revolution was made by a minority. If we relate the cities where people fell during the revolution to the rest of the country, and the people who effectively participated in the revolution to the rest of the population, who were mere spectators, then the conclusion is obvious: The dictatorship fell under the pressure of the street, of a minority.

This is proven by a simple reading of the statistics of the percentages of votes given to the NSF in each county. However, in Ardeal, Banat, and Bucharest, that is in the places marked by the revolution, Mr. Iliescu and his party obtained fewer votes than in Moldavia, where, as somebody put it so well, the people "went to bed under Ceausescu and woke up under Iliescu!"

Austrian Journalist on Election 'Irregularities'

AU2505143290 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 25 May 90

[Interview with ORF journalist Brigitte Fuchs by Manfred Kronsteiner in Vienna—live]

[Text] [Kronsteiner] Mrs. Fuchs, what were your experiences in the Romanian elections? What events and irregularities did you observe?

[Fuchs] Well, on 20 May I was in a voting station—I was in many voting stations, also in a small village north of Bucharest. Like everywhere, hundreds of people lined up in order to cast their votes. I heard and I saw that people entered the voting booths in groups of two or three. I saw that they themselves did not put the filled-in and stamped voting papers into the envelopes provided for this purpose, but handed them over to the election commission chairman, who opened the booklet, apparently made sure that the paper had been correctly filled in, and then put the voting paper into the box. Actually, the law says that the voter has to do this.

I also heard that an electoral assistant, who said that he is a member of the National Salvation Front, told the voters where they had to impress the stamp on which the word votat was inscribed, which means elected. This was, of course, were the name of the Front was.

[Kronsteiner] Did other irregularities strike you, for example, in the election commissions? Romanian opposition circles report that heads of election commissions were often removed from their posts without a motive—at least an official one—and new ones were appointed.

[Fuchs] Yes, a concrete case that I witnessed myself took place in election station 122 in Bucharest. The chairman designate of the election commission, who had already been sworn in, was replaced on the day before the elections without having been told the reason. We tried to find the previous chairman. We called the Bucharest mayor's office. We were told that he had to be replaced because he had died some time ago. The next day the allegedly deceased man was in the polling station together with us.

[Kronsteiner] Did one get the impression that primarily intimidated and frightened voters were in the voting stations??

[Fuchs] No, you cannot put it that way. I think that the voters were very patient. They sometimes had to wait for the casting of the votes for four or five hours. It was an absolutely happy event for them. People told me: We have waited for elections for 40 or 45 years. So we do not mind the last three or four hours.

Intimidated is certainly not the correct expression. However, it can certainly be said that the voters were not very well briefed. This was probably due to the fact that outside Bucharest papers of the opposition were not available at all. There are only the official government papers that are close to the Front. Of course, radio and television are also firmly in the hands of the government, the Front. That is to say, the voters did not get independent information on candidates and party programs. They were not intimidated, but they were not very well briefed either.

[Kronsteiner] Election observers, for example, of the Socialist International, also observed and indicated certain irregularities. On the other hand, the official statements of the observer organizations said that it was not possible to prove an actual electoral fraud.

[Fuchs] Well, what cannot be proven is that these irregularities were planned, organized, and ordered from above. It is actually very difficult to prove such a thing. You will not find anybody who says that the government ordered the electoral fraud.

[Kronsteiner] How much did the irregularities during the elections actually affect the election result? In other words, did many Romanians not vote for Iliescu because they knew him?

[Fuchs] I think that there is no doubt that even without any manipulations Iliescu would have been elected president and that the Front would have become the strongest party. There is no doubt about that. However, one should have a look at the election result. The National Salvation Front approximately gains 66 to 67 percent of the votes. This is exactly the majority that it needs for a two-thirds majority in both chambers of parliament. This is actually very striking. For with a two-thirds majority, the Front actually can pass any law without any consideration for the opposition. One of the first tasks of this parliament will be the development of a new constitution. Thus, this new constitution will actually be made exclusively by the members of the Front. And it must not be forgotten that almost all members of the National Salvation Front of Romania are former Communists.

Expectations From Elections Discussed

AU2905145990 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 22 May 90 p 1

[Magdalena Boiangiu article: "What We Possess and What We Desire"]

[Text] In the desire to preserve its impartiality, on the long day of the elections on 20 May, the television personnel did not ask anyone for whom he will vote or had voted. All those who answered the questions were excited and the majority spoke of the desire for peace, well-being, and democracy. Others simply said that they expect these elections to bring them freedom; freedom without conditions. A gentleman who was standing behind me waiting in line to vote cut short a woman who was talking of food and warmth, by saying: "That is something for dogs, lady. What people need is freedom." But, what if we—up to now—have lived worse than dogs? And why is it absolutely necessary for freedom to be opposed to well-being? Can we not be both free and satiated? Our aversion to misery refers to both the material and moral aspect of that stage in our existence that ended in December 1989. And probably our aversion to the past is the feeling mostly shared by those who are standing patiently in line to vote for those whom they thought would offer them the most serious guarantees in this respect.

We know that during the five months of our provisional status, coupled with disquiet and unrest, the decisions of those in power could not and had no possibility to attack the basic structures of the former system. Those who are criticizing them today for the policy of "small steps" would soon have drawn attention to the economic chaos and social imbalance.

However, the majority that emerges from these elections has achieved the vote of confidence on the basis of the promise that it will radically change everything, including the people, those sick people in power who think that one can survive by patching up half-truths and that the trick of such delays—as "We say what they say and do what we want"—is still tolerated.

We need peace, not to sleep while our more or less beloved leaders think on our behalf, but in order to be able to think together about what we can do, so that by leaving communism we will reenter history. We need peace to listen to all arguments and choose the solutions that will guarantee both well-being and freedom. We want to live, not to survive, through all the governments, which the Romanian people will change from now on, not with violence, but with the ballot as their conscience dictates, thus voting—completely consciously—for competence, morality, and the energy to turn words into deeds. We certainly will not have a parliament inhabited by angels. No one in the world does. However, people who have been through the mill like we have will undoubtedly be very prudent for a long time to come.

"This is what they wanted, this is what they get," people were chanting Sunday night in University Square, after the INFAS-[Applies Social Research Institute, Bonn] IRSOP [Romanian Public Opinion Poll Institute] poll. May what we have gotten not hamper us in achieving what we desire.

Economy Seen on Verge of Inflation

AU3105093390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0840 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 31/5/1990—Romania's provisional government has managed these last few months to maintain price stability and check thus the inflation tendencies, although the money in circulation on May 21 was by 15.4 billion lei more than the same day of last year, shows an article running under the above headline in daily DIMINEATA.

The checking of inflation was possible because no essential changes emerged in the relation between the citizens' purse and the market of goods and services, although the population's incomes rose through "additions" to wages, which resulted in a 10.4 billion lei rise in the payments for wages as compared to the relevant period of last year.

The rise in the population's incomes results from rights benefiting again some segments of the mass of employees, after they had been stripped of such rights by the old regime, from the paying back of the social shares 21.7 billion lei, and from a 5.8 billion lei rise in the state sociocultural expenditures. Plus the farmers' bigger incomes resulting from rises in the purchase prices with plant and animal produce, which cost the state 40 billion lei, without any repercussion on retail prices. So, there is money on the Romanian market but the offer of the state shops is just as poor as before. Therefore, the citizens turn to the free market of the street that play havoc on the families' budgets and entails a spiral of prices. However, according to Virgil Pirvu, deputy head of the price department, the all-country price index stagnates.

The situation keeps on the verge of getting out of control. Price stability cannot be controlled by the government endlessly if the production is not refloated and commercial and service units do not come up with more and better goods and services. The big amount of money in the market has already started being adsorbed as a result of the steps for a better adjustment of the demand-offer relation. However, the Romanians live with the hope for a better living standard and the fear of inflation.

Government Study on Market Economy, Employment

AU3005193290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1713 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/5/1990—A government study on strategies in the employment policy with the market economy in the offing shows the result will be a substantial unemployment figure. According to early estimations, 300 to 500 thousand people will be jobless in 1990. Adding to these figures are the 256 thousand young graduates of various forms of education who are already looking for work. The total offer of workplaces in the exiting production system accounts for 56 per cent, especially as a result of old-age and shorter length-of-service pensions.

As for the rest, short-, medium- and long-term solutions are contemplated. Inter alia, there are the generalization of the five-day working week, the development of the tertiary sector, that of services, the involvement of people in agriculture, where conditions compatible with those in non-agricultural branches will be provided, and the resumption of the application of the investment programme.

The same study shows that with the existence of unemployment and of the possibility of enterprises to fire their employees the attributes of the administration boards and of trade unions should be set accurately and an unemployment benefit should be granted for the duration and according to the terms provided for by the law. Unemployment benefits will be therefore granted to people who are unemployed for reasons beyond his control and who lack other sources of income. Furthermore, in view is the creation of vocational guidance centers and of centers for training in trades where openings exist.

Chemical Industry Moving Toward Market Economy

AU2905095490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0837 GMT 29 May 90

["Economy: The Romanian Chemical Industry Towards a Market Economy"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 29/5/1990—I think that we have committed ourselves to the democratization of economic activities and to a higher autonomy of enterprises by transferring duties, responsibilities and rights to them and to their administration boards, specified Mr. Gheorghe Caranfil, minister of the chemical and petrochemical industry. We expect these measures to show in the next period in the production turned out.

Therefore we have replaced the rigid mechanism, in operation not long ago, with a flexible one apt to facilitate liberalization, the transition to the market economy. The small enterprises are now juristic persons and consequently they can further develop as private enterprises. As for the eight chemical and petrochemical central departments, two have a new organizational form with a structure, duties and statute similar to that of the trusts in Western European countries. One of them is the "ROMPLAST" trust which gathers the plastics manufacturing enterprises and the other the trust of medicines, cosmetics, dyes and varnishes.

In the case of these new organizational forms we pursued the idea of making each component unit independent. Certainly the independence is limited but the commanding administrative system disappears definitively, the management board of the trust having to play a completely different role from that of the former central departments.

I think that by carrying into effect these measures of decentralizing the economic activity of the chemical and petrochemical industry as a whole, we will acquire the necessary experience to create new forms of activity based on the association of enterprises apt to cooperate for the manufacture of the same product, benefiting from the advantages such an organizational form can provide: Marketing studies, financial and capital investment possibilities, modern technique and technologies.

First Stockholding Company Begins Operation

AU2805120990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0929 GMT 28 May 90

["The Fine Mechanics Company—A Stockholding Company"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/5/1990—The first Romanian stockholding company—the Fine Mechanics Company—started operating a few days ago. The company gathers 22 founding units among which 19 productive ones—called "production divisions"—a design and research institute, a data processing center and the "Mefin" foreign trade company.

The founding of the Fine Mechanics Company is a first step towards a market economy, its first target being decentralization and complete autonomy. All the levers that used to link the production units with the Labour Ministry, the Ministry of National Economy and the relevant ministry are part of the Fine Mechanics Company.

The company's capital of 1.2 billion lei in fixed and circulating assets of the founding units and has been divided into shares 5,000 lei nominal value. [sentence as received] Since the capital was accumulated from the state centralized fund the company is to be owned—for the time being—by the state, represented by the management of the founding units which are also the main share holders. The Fine Mechanics Company intends to become a public company in the future, depending on the government's economic policy, to sell its shares to buyers inside and outside the company.

The Fine Mechanics Company is no monopoly. It is a firm with a promising future as to its products' demands that clearly outrun the offer.

Bank To Increase Capital by 75 Percent

AU2405165190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1455 GMT 24 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 24/5/1990—Romanian banks will have their capital increased by 75 percent this year, the government decided.

The profits made by Romania's four banks are the source of the increase: The National Bank, the Bank for Agriculture and Food Industry, the Investment Bank and the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade.

The hard currency earned by the banks from interest and commission on credits and banking operations as well as from their stock in joint ventures will remain at the disposal of the abovementioned banks to increase their own assets and meet current expenditure. Adding to that the Investment Bank will be transferred 20 million U.S. Dollars from the country's reserves.

Government Denies Running Up Foreign Debts

AU2405165690 Bucharest ADEVARUL
in Romanian 20 May 90 p 2

[Text] ROMPRES received the following communique from the press bureau of the government:

In their statements during the live broadcast of the TV Electoral Studio program on 17 May 1990, at 2000, the two presidential candidates Messrs. Radu Campeanu and Ion Ratiu erroneously said that Romania has contracted foreign debts in the period after the revolution. A day before that TV broadcast, the prime minister made several statements in this respect, at a governmental news conference. Here they are:

The foreign payments deficit for the first five months of the year amounts to $400 million; however, there was no need to resort to foreign credits. This deficit is not worrisome, the prime minister said, because one should also take into account that, in the same period, some $500 million worth of hard currency was allocated to agriculture, thus creating true premises for favorable results and a substantial production improvement in 1990.

In the future, the prime minister said, the anticipated increase in the foreign payments imbalance—due to massive hard-currency imports of basic raw materials such as oil, natural gas, iron ores, and coking coal—can be attenuated by raising the capacity and productivity of the Romanian enterprises and by promoting the involvement of foreign creditors, through cooperative agreements or the creation of joint companies with foreign industrial-commercial groups.

As one could ascertain from the statements made at that news conference, the current executive made special efforts to ensure that the future government's mission will not be affected by the measures taken to improve the people's living standard and maintain the Romanian economy's balance. The new government will begin its activity without foreign debts.

Official on Foreign Capital in Oil Industry

AU2805084890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0755 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/5/1990—Remaining the only owner of oil reserves, the Romanian state will benefit in future from the introduction of foreign capital to discover new resources, stated in an interview Engineer Leon Dogaru, deputy minister of oil industry. If the interested one does not discover such resources, we close the research on the investigated area; if he finds them he recoups his investment from a share of the production (10-16 per cent). We have been contacted by over twenty large companies in Europe and America. The equipment they will bring here would give us the possibility of a rapid modernization and introduction of high technology which will represent an immediate advantage for Romania.

Mr. Dogaru specified that now Romania produces about nine million tonnes of oil every year and 70 million cubic metres of gas every day. There are long-term contracts to complete the required resources. We also ensure part of the resources from Rompetrol's workings in Libya, the USSR, Jordan and Iraq. The gas supply is stipulated to be ensured by connecting Romania to the European system of gas main tubes, system coordinated by the EEC (U.N.).

Celac, Banking Officials Attend Paris Meeting

AU2905175090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1637 GMT 29 May 90

["Diplomatic Activities: Romania at the European Bank For Reconstruction and Development"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/5/1990—A Romanian Government delegation made up of Sergiu Celac, minister of foreign affairs, Teodor Stolojan, first deputy minister of finance, Vasile Voloseniuc, president of the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade, and Adrian Severin, state secretary, the government commission on privatization, are in Paris to sign the foundation act of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

New Croatian Government Members Proposed

AU3005103590 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Croatian Premier-designate Stjepan Mesic by Davor Ivankovic; place and date not given: "Who Are the New Ministers"]

[Text] Zagreb—In an exclusive statement for VECERNJI LIST, new Croatian Premier-designate Stjepan Mesic announced most of the names of people proposed for members of the government. Names of some other ministries will be known in a few days. Stjepan Mesic told us that, for the time being, the government will consist of 17 ministers, but that it will most probably be expanded. However, the government's entire administrative apparatus will be smaller than the current one.

The following people have been proposed as Executive Council members: the minister of economy has still not been nominated; Bernardo Jurlina has been proposed as Executive Council vice president in charge of social activities; Milan Ramljak as Executive Council vice president in charge of internal policy (internal affairs, judiciary, public prosecution); Dr. Zvonimir Medvedovic as Executive Council member in charge of undeveloped regions and development of small businesses; the Executive Council member in charge of finances has not been finally nominated—several people are being considered, and the probable choice is Dr. Mate Babic. Gojko Susak will be proposed as Executive Council member in charge of emigrants.

The republican secretary for national defense is still not known; Josip Boljkovac has been proposed as republican secretary for internal affairs; the secretary for administration and judiciary has not been nominated; Guste Santini has been proposed as secretary for finance; Professor Dr. Bozidar Udovicic has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Energy, Industry, and Crafts; Engineer Ivan Tarnaj has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Agriculture and Forestry; Toni Mrsic has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Relations with Foreign Countries; Academician Vlatko Pavletic has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Education and Culture and Physical and Technical Education; Dr. Andrija Hebrang has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Health and Social Protection; the nominee for president of the Republican Committee for Social Planning is still not known.

Republican committee presidents who are not Executive Council members but are invited to attend its sessions are proposed as follows: Dr. Davorin Rudolf has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Maritime Affairs, Traffic, and Communication; Dr. Josip Bozicevic has been proposed as his deputy; the republican secretary for construction is not yet known; Prof. Dr. Osman Muftic has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Science; the president of the Republican Committee for Employment has not yet been nominated; lawyer Marin Crnja has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Veterans' and Disabled Veterans' Questions; Ante Letica will most probably be proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Trade; the president of the Republican Committee for Water Management is not yet known; Milovan Sibl has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Information.

We asked Stjepan Mesic to explain why he had decided in favor of these people.

"We said that the government, that is, the Assembly Executive Council, will consist of members of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] who are at the same time experts and of experts who do not necessarily have to be HDZ members, but support our program. So far they have all confirmed that they are experts, and I think that they can implement this program. Bernardo Jurlina has already worked with trade unions and dealt in social activities; Milan Ramljak is professor at the Zagreb Faculty of Law, he teaches the organization of administration and is an expert for such a job; Mate Babic is an expert for finances and banking; Josip Boljkovac (future minister of police) has already dealt with internal affairs, he worked in the administration and in the Assembly; Guste Santini has worked in the Institute for Finance; Prof. Dr. Bozidar Udovicic is professor at the Electrotechnical Faculty, works at the Institute for Energetics, and is an expert on energetics and is well known as such in the country and the world. Engineer Ivan Tarnaj is an expert on agronomy, he has already been a member of the Croatian Assembly, dealt in agriculture, and has been in the management of agricultural organizations. Toni Mrsic (minister of foreign affairs) has worked abroad, has many connections in the country and abroad, and dealt with world international organizations. Vlatko Pavletic is an academician, a writer. Dr. Andrija Hebrang is a medical doctor, a specialist, he works in the hospital in Zajceva Street in Zagreb; Dr. Davorin Rudolf is a university professor in Split and works in maritime affairs; Dr. Osman Muftic is a university professor at the Zagreb Machine Faculty; Marin Crnja is a lawyer in Rijeka and works at the Committee for Veterans' and Disabled Veterans' Questions; Ante Letica is director of the Split Brodomerkur Organization, until now he has worked on the implementation of regulations pertaining to trade and will now be creating these regulations; Milovan Sibl, president of the Republican Committee for Information, is a journalist by profession."

Constituent Session of Croatian Assembly Held

SDS Deputies Boycott

LD3005091590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0811 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Zagreb, 30 May (TANJUG)—The constituent session of the chambers of the multiparty Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia began in Zagreb on 30 May in the absence of all five deputies from the ranks of the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka—SDS]

SDS members Ratko Licina from Gracac, Dusan Zelenbaba from Knin, and Dusan Ergarac from Donji Lapac are absent in the Chamber of Municipalities; Jovo Olpacic from Knin in the Sociopolitical Chamber, and Radoslav Tanjga, also from Knin, in the Chamber of Associated Labor.

This demonstrates the truth behind the statement by SDS leader Jovan Raskovic to the effect that this party's elected deputies will not attend Croatian Assembly sessions until all the circumstances behind the attack on Miroslav Mlinar, president of the party's branch in Benkovac, have been clarified.

Domijan Elected President

AU3005125590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Zagreb—Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] representative Zarko Domijan has become new president of the multiparty Croatian Assembly. There were only two votes against Domijan's election in the open vote at the joint session of all three chambers.

Ivica Percan of the League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Changes, and Stjepan Sulimac and Vladimir Seks of the HDZ have been elected Assembly vice presidents. The fourth vice president of the Assembly, who should have been from the Serbian Democratic Party, was not elected on 30 May. A message this party had sent to the Assembly confirmed that the party will freeze its relations with the Croatian parliament until further notice and will give up its candidacy for the post of Assembly vice president.

Suvar Sends Telegram

LD3005170790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1226 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Zagreb, 30 May (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency Vice President Dr. Stipe Suvar has sent the presiding official of the constitutive session of the Socialist Republic of Croatia Assembly a telegram apologizing for the failure to attend the session due to his tight schedule in the SFRY Presidency, where at the moment he is standing in for the SFRY Presidency president, who is absent. He also asked for his best wishes for a successful session to be extended to the Socialist Republic of Croatia Assembly.

The following is the text of Dr. Suvar's telegram:

"I wish the Socialist Republic of Croatia Assembly in its new, multiparty composition and all those whom it will elect to responsible posts success for the benefit of Croatia and all its citizens, for the benefit of the Croatian people, the Serbian people, and the nationalities living in Croatia, in the interest of democratic development and the overall progress of sovereign Croatia as a part of Yugoslavia whose state and social setup will be determined by all our nations and their republics, jointly and on an equal footing through their new constitutions. In my present post, I will continue to insist on the SFRY Presidency acting and behaving strictly within its constitutional powers and will support economic and political reform.

"In my view, not just state bodies and state officials, but also all the people, nations, and nationalities in both Croatia and Yugoslavia must focus their aspirations and resources on efforts to peacefully and democratically resolve mounting difficulties and dispel fear among people in the interest of human freedom and people's sovereignty and equality."

Dr. Stipe Suvar's telegram was read at the joint session of all Assembly chambers by Dr. Zarko Domljan, the newly elected president of the Socialist Republic of Croatia Assembly. The deputies greeted the telegram with applause.

Markovic Message Read

LD3005192390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1525 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Zagreb, 30 May (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic has sent a telegram to the assembly of the Soviet Republic [SR] of Croatia. It was read at the 30 May afternoon's session of all three Assembly chambers by Zarko Domljan, newly elected president of the SR of Croatia Assembly.

In his telegram, Ante Markovic says:

[no opening quotation marks as received] Since I cannot attend personally the session of the SR of Croatia Assembly I want to express in this way my best wishes for your successful work in the new multiparty assembly. At the same time, I congratulate the Assembly president and all the other officials elected at today's session."

"In view of the coming period, the election of the new SR of Croatia Assembly expresses the will and trust of the citizens of Croatia, but it also underlines exceptional responsibility for the further work of implementing the reformist changes toward the market economy, the democratization of society, and political pluralism. We are hoping that we will continue to cooperate successfully, particularly in implementing the program of the reforms, to the benefit and progress of the people of the SR of Croatia and the SFRY," FEC President Ante Markovic stressed.

More Officials Chosen

LD3005192490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1543 GMT 30 May 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 30 May (TANJUG)—The most important part of the 30 May session of the Croatian Assembly was the election, by a secret vote, of the 12 delegation members of the Croatian Assembly to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, and the new president and members of the republic's Presidency.

Of the elected members of the new delegation to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, eight are members of the Croatian Democratic Union [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica] (HDZ), and four of the Croat League of Communists-Party for Democratic Change (SKH-SDP).

The delegates elected HDZ Chairman Franjo Tudjman as new president of the Croatian Presidency by a majority of 281 votes, with 57 invalid ballot papers.

The following were elected as members of the republican Presidency: Kresimir Balenovic (HDZ), Dusan Bilandzic (SKH-SDP), Dalibor Brozovic (HDZ), Josip Manolic (HDZ), Antun Vrdoljak (HDZ), and Milojko Vuckovic (independent). [passage omitted on continuation of Assembly session]

Markovic, Government Plan To Form New Party

LD2505212690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2025 GMT 25 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, May 25 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic said in an interview to Reuters and the B.B.C. today [25 May] that the federal government planned to form a party separate from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) to contest a free general election in the country expected by the end of the current year.

Reuters and the B.B.C. write that Markovic, advocate of economic and political reforms, is genuinely popular and widely considered the man most capable of uniting Yugoslavia's many nations and nationalities.

"Our plan is to rally around the government (reform) programme...and we also plan to form a party of our own", Markovic said.

"I mean our own party which will stand in elections by the end of this year. A new party. A party that will be founded on this programme", Reuters quotes Markovic as saying.

Reuters writes that Markovic has implemented tough economic reforms that have restricted money supply, restored faith in the national currency, the dinar, and cut inflation.

He has supported the introduction of a multi-party democracy and improvements in human rights, which has made him popular throughout Yugoslavia, Reuters writes.

Elaborating on the plan to form a new party, Markovic said that "everything must be done in a few months. The elections will be held by the end of the year. The whole government is behind this, but the most important thing is the support of the people".

Asked if the new party would run against the L.C.Y., of which Markovic is still a member, Reuters quotes the Yugoslav prime minister as replying that "it depends on them".

In the context of the current situation in Yugoslavia, Markovic told Reuters and the B.B.C. that "there is nothing in the current process that should worry us. There are secondary tendencies such as separatism and extreme nationalism, but they are all of a secondary nature".

Markovic plans to continue his economic programme, which envisages for reprivatization of property, closing of non-profitable firms and discharging of redundant (?workers) Reuters writes.

"The results so far encourage us to continue along similar lines and give the government good reason to think we can succeed", Markovic said.

Some of the encouraging moves including the creation of some 110,000 new small and medium-sized firms this year, which have helped calm social discontent resulting from a threat of redundancy hovering over 135,000 workers employed by 230 firms which have opened bankruptcy proceedings, Markovic said in his interview to Reuters and the B.B.C.

Party Plans Criticized

LD2705165190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1507 GMT 27 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, May 27 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade dailies POLITIKA and POLITIKA EKSPRES on Sunday [29 May] assessed the intention of the Yugoslav Government to form its own party as a "major swindle" and a "stab in the back of democracy." Prime Minister Ante Markovic announced the intention in an interview to Reuters news agency and the BBC two days ago.

The papers believe that the prime minister's initiative was contrary to his advocation of a legal state, and criticize him for seeking to replace one monopoly—that of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia—with that of his own party.

The sharply worded commentaries say that the prime minister is "using" and "abusing" his position and demonstrating the "will for power," at the same time showing political inconsistency.

Shortly after having been brought to power by the LCY (the majority of his ministers are Communists), Markovic pointed out that he was outside all parties, and finally decided to form his own, the commentaries recall.

The first reactions by Belgrade circles, carried by Politika today, assess Markovic's initiative as a negation of the efforts he has made so far. Markovic, who enjoys widespread popularity and support throughout the country, must, before setting up his own party, make a choice between a new mandate and a new party, it is assessed.

POLITIKA EKSPRES claims that Yugoslavia's economy is in a disastrous condition and that government estimates of its success are exaggerated because the curbing of the four-digit inflation over the past six months has been achieved at the expense of a two-digit production fall.

Besides the moral aspect of the move, the papers have also raised the question of the financing of the future government party.

Press Comments on Party

LD2905144590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1200 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, May 29 (TANJUG)—The news that Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic intends to form a political party or a coalition of all parties which support the federal government's programme has divided the Yugoslav public and media into those who see in his move a hope for the survival of the country and those who regard it as an indication of the end of Yugoslavia.

The entire Yugoslav press is unanimous today in pointing to a paradox—the prime minister is setting up a party instead of a political party nominating a prime minister. Markovic is also criticized for basing his future party solely on an economic programme, which [word indistinct] a political and ideological dimension.

"Markovic has suddenly become competition to all national leaders," the Zagreb daily VECERNJI LIST (Republic of Croatia) writes, adding that "if the Yugoslavia of today, fighting for democracy on the edge of a knife of ethnic exclusivism, has a man of consensus, that that man can only be Ante Markovic."

The Zagreb daily VJESNIK thinks Markovic would be ill-advised to present the new party as Yugoslavia's saviour and establish it before accord is reached on a re-definition of relations among the nations and their republics

The Ljubljana daily DELO (Republic of Slovenia) thinks it possible that the "Markovic, a political fox, is by announcing the formation of a new party only seeking to strengthen his own position," convincing the new authorities not to "put spokes in his wheels," as he could well draw away their voters.

DELO points out that the prime minister's good intentions conceal perilous traps, because if he were to "cast anchor in the Federal Assembly with his own party, a peculiar balance of forces would be created in which Markovic would have a dangerously free hand."

The Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE (Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina) says in a commentary, clearly supportive of Markovic's programme, that "without a party and its certain victory at federal elections Markovic would for a time vegetate as the federal prime minister, until the powerful opposition, initially from the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia and later from the rest of the country, forced him either to obey or to resign."

The Maribor (Slovenia) daily VECER says that Markovic's party would have no chance whatsoever of success, especially in Slovenia and Croatia.

The Skopje daily NOVA MAKEDONIJA (Republic of Macedonia) writes that "many are rightly ready to seek in Markovic's programme the only possibility for Yugoslavia's re-integration."

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES (Republic of Serbia) thinks Markovic is not counting on the support of Croatia, his own republic, and that he is seeking to "split Serbs from Serbs." Stressing that Markovic is not founding a party only for the sake of an economic reform, POLITIKA EKSPRES indirectly accuses him of searching for a position for the "Yugoslavia's final break-up."

Markovic Discusses Plans

AU3005171890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 May 90 p 1

[Report on interview with Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic by Djoko Kesic in Belgrade on 28 May: "Coalition of Parties Supporting the Government's Program"]

[Text] Federal Government President Ante Markovic has remained true to his style as a serious and nonchalant politician always prepared to talk with journalists and ready to give quick answers often verging on cynicism. Without any hesitation, he accepted having a short talk with the BORBA correspondent just before the beginning of the session of the two SFRY Assembly chambers to discuss the political-security situation in the country.

[Kesic] How will the government fare at the Assembly debate on 29 May?

[Markovic] The government will fare well as usual. Do you not think so?

[Kesic] How do you feel? An avalanche of criticism has fallen on your head after you announced the possible foundation of a party or a coalition.

[Markovic] Really? I really have not noticed anybody criticizing me!

[Kesic] Do you have the name of the party?

[Markovic] You are going too far with your question. The federal government has decided to run in multiparty elections and to try to win the confidence of the citizens of Yugoslavia with the program that we had adopted and that, as can be seen, has started yielding surprisingly good results. The Federal Executive Council [FEC] is suggesting a coalition of all parties supporting our program.

[Kesic] Obviously, your intention is primarily to form a coalition and not your own party. How is it possible to form a coalition with parties that have not yet been politically and socially defined and formed, and have not acquired a specific shape. For instance, not a single party, even if one includes those which have won at elections in some republics, has a clear economic program.

[Markovic] We are not going to form a coalition on the basis of their economic programs but on the basis of our program. These parties should be allowed to constitute themselves completely as real parties with economic and political programs. I am convinced that all that would have to have and will have a completely different political and economic form and orientation.

[Kesic] Do you intend to form a coalition even with those parties whose leaderships are already fiercely criticizing you, your reform program, and your political convictions?

[Markovic] Let them say so themselves at this place or elsewhere. Newspapers should not do so instead.

[Kesic] Anyway, what do you think about remarks that some circles have made about your announcement of the possibility of forming your party?

[Markovic] I have really not noticed any.

[Kesic] One of the basic remarks is: Why has our premier told foreign media that he intends to found his own party or that he will try to form a coalition of several political parties?

[Markovic] That is not true. More than two months ago, I have announced that possibility at the session of the SFRY Assembly Constitutional Commission. Then I said so in the interview to Zagreb Television. The third time I said this was in Brioni, at the economists' conference. Therefore, it was first in Yugoslavia and only then abroad.... Were not the media regularly covering all this? Or perhaps somebody does not want to hear it?

[Kesic] Are you concerned about the economic reform program, considering the contradictory views political parties have about it?

[Markovic] Who is it, apart from the FEC, who has any kind of economic program. So far, not a single party has one. If somebody offers a better program, it is all right with me.

[Kesic] The announcement about founding a party or a coalition seems to have knocked trump cards out of the hands of some would-be leaders. Do you agree?

[Markovic] I know this is so.

[Kesic] Are you still member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia?

[Markovic] Yes, I am still member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

[Kesic] Are you going to remain being so even if you found your own party?

[Markovic] I do not know. We will see.

Further on New Party

LD3005182390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1307 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Nis, 30 May (TANJUG)—The interpretations of my statement about a new party are, first, not accurate, and second, what is even more significant, we are building a system that will have to, and be able to, function irrespective of which party is in power, FEC [Federal Executive Council] President Ante Markovic said in informal talks on 30 May with journalists at Nis airport as he was waiting for his guest from Bulgaria.

Markovic elucidated that we are building a system "that will function regardless of which party is in power, something that has already been practiced in Germany, the United States and Japan. [no end quotes as received] In these countries, Markovic resumed, the social democrats replace the conservatives, the conservatives replace the liberals, but the system functions. We, as the federal government, want to offer our support and help to such a system. We want this country's progressive forces to win in the multiparty elections in Yugoslavia.

This is why we have committed ourselves to such an organization, including if need be, our effort to attract all those who want the formation of a new party that is to progress along this route. We will not do this as a government but as individuals. There is no other program but this reformist one, Markovic said, so this program should attract all the forces that will act together within a coalition—a different term may be used, alliance, forum (its name does not matter)—in the multiparty elections to the Yugoslav parliament that are to be held by the end of this year.

We believe that we must be realistic since we will not win the elections with some exclusive stances, Ante Markovic cautioned.

Report on Markovic Nomination Denied

LD2805193990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1433 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, 29 May (TANJUG)—A Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] meeting in Skopje did not vote on the proposal that a transformed SAWPY register Ante Markovic as the candidate for the Federal Executive Council [FEC] president. Miroslav Markovic, secretary of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Republican conference, explained this on 28 May.

In the explanation, he cites that several public information media carried news on 26 and 27 May that the meeting of the presidents and secretaries of the republican and provincial SAWP conferences (held on 26 May in Skupje) endorsed the proposal that Ante Markovic become candidate of a transformed SAWPY for FEC president.

As a meeting participant, Miroslav Markovic stressed, "I want to point out that this gathering had working-consultative character and made no conclusions about any issue or proposal." A participant presented the proposal concerning Ante Markovic's candidacy, but those present did not reach any conclusions about this, Miroslav Markovic claims.

Markovic Announces 2d Stage of Economic Reform

LD2505110790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2154 GMT 23 May 90

[Text] Novi Sad, May 23 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government will in early July present parliament with a proposal on the second stage of the economic reform, Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic (?said here) Wednesday [23 May].

Markovic told a meeting with pressmen at the International Agricultural Fair in Novi Sad that the two major aims of the government's initial program—curbing the inflation and the international convertability of the dinar—have been realized.

The Federal Government's strict economic measures have reduced last December's inflation of 64 percent to a 0.2 percent negative inflation late last month. The national currency (dinar) was linked to the Deutsch mark at a 2:1 ratio.

Markovic said that the experts of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), with whom he met in Belgrade today [23 May], had expressed satisfaction with the reform results and said they are convinced Yugoslavia would shortly be given the right to introduce the external convertability of its currency.

One of the conditions for this is that government export subsidies are not granted, he said.

Premier Markovic said that the further reform was aimed at reviving the money and capital market and that the next big objective would be reprivatization of property.

He stressed that the foreign economic policy would not change in the second stage of the reform.

The Federal Government has already considerably liberalized imports and opened the door to foreign capital, putting foriegn firms on an equal footing with the domestic firms.

In the next stage of reform, the government plans to carry out the necessary financial reorganization of banks and ensure a greater efficacy and productivity of enterprises where, Markovic said, it would rely on the savings of its citizens in the country and of the Yugoslav workers abroad.

The Federal Government will continue to implement a strict monetary policy, as it has no intention of jeopardizing in any way the results of the reform achieved to date, Markovic said.

He expressed the conviction that Yugoslavia has the opportunity, through a common effort of all its federal units, to become an equal member of Europe and the world. An opening to the world may help us become better and more efficacious and help us achieve better economic (?results), the Yugoslav prime Minister said in conclusion.

Serbian LC Central Committee Meets

LD2505111790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0859 GMT 23 May 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 May (TANJUG)—The commitment to market economy has received full support among most Serbs, and this is the best evidence that the ratio of forces in the republic is changing to the advantage of the forces of reform and social process. However, certain conduct in connection with specific requirements implicit in the reform shows that antireform forces have not yet been squeezed out in some environments. There is a great number of people who verbally are for reform, but in fact fail to resolve many business and development problems. Or, not a few people in management positions verbally advocate the independence of enterprises but go on seeking the solution to specific issues at previously known municipal, republican, and other addresses.

This was said on 23 May, during the fifth session of the Serbian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee [CC], by Tomica Raicevic, Serbian LC CC Presidium member,in his introductory report on economic developments and the tasks of the Serbian LC. Preparations for the resumed 14th Extraordinary LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Congress and for the congress of LCY democratic reform are also on the agenda of the Serbian LC. [passage omitted]

Present economic development, Raicevic went on to say, shows that we were right when, while supporting the anti-inflation program, we gave notice that some measures must be applied more selectively, making the probability of lasting stabilization higher and the social and political price of their implementation lower. These developments still carry all the features of a crisis except that the biggest problems are no longer concentrated in the price sector but in the production and economic activity sector. Under the impact of the restrictive monetary and credit policy, measures of price rises have abated, which—without a doubt—is an important result allowing other important reform moves to be made, but its impact must not be exaggerated.

We are not satisfied with the activities undertaken to transform the economy on the basis of the law on enterprises and other systemic solutions. Too much attention is paid to formal issues and "cosmetic improvements," to the detriment of economic substance, Tomica Raicevic went on to say in his introductory report.

There have been cases when attractive forms of organization were uncritically taken over from developed countries while some simple and economically logical solutions were neglected. These formal solutions have, in fact, prevented a decisive break from the organization of our economy on the principles of the law on associated labor. Raicevic advocated the idea that a new philosophy, a philosophy more suitable to the market economy, should be introduced more rapidly into the work of business banks. He added that the demand that the current rate of interest policy should be reexamined and that the rates of interest should be set depending on the rate of inflation is justified. [passage omitted]

Tomica Raicevic drew attention to the "penetration of militant and primitive anticommunism and chauvinism in Serbia." Some new and as-yet-unregistered parties disseminate hopelessness and fear-provoking dissatisfaction among the citizens of Serbia who rightly ask that chauvinist excesses leading to national division and civil war should be balked with all the means available to our law-governed state, said Raicevic.

We reject with indignation the democracy of the fist, dagger, and firearms that the most sinister forces want to introduce into our political life. This violence as a method of political struggle, from wielding knives at Ravna Gora to the use of daggers in Benkovac, is incompatible with the democratic achievements of the civilized world.

One cannot pass in silence over attempts of some parties in Croatia to have the consequences of the latest case of mindlessness diminished or taken out of the context of many other attacks on Serbs in the republic. No problem in Yugoslavia can be solved on a policy of national exclusivity and conflict; it can only be done on a policy of national equality that operated in Serbia. The Serbian LC CC most vigorously rejects all violent methods of political struggle because they are directly against the incipient democratic processes, said Tomic Raicevic at the end of his introductory report. [passage omitted]

Milos Sekulovic remarked that the economy is slowly adapting to the changes and that the state is not consistent with its promises to ease the burden on its income. One out of two Belgrade workers is employed in a collective whose bank account has been blocked, and once again the republics and the federation have shown the highest growth rate of revenue, said Sekulovic, asking for an explanation for this phenomenon and also for accountability, if appropriate. [passage omitted]

Petar Trifunovic, to quote his own words, an observer of the Croat Democratic Union [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—HDZ] meeting in Tito's birthplace, remarked that that party is "organized like Switzerland or Japan" and that as regards this, the Communists must emulate them. He also expressed the view that the attempts by the HDZ and by other right-wing parties in Croatia to bring pressure to bear on the Serbs in Croatia and force them to emigrate with economic and not political measures must be resisted. [passage omitted]

The remainder of the session was taken up with the discussion on the preparations for the resumption of the work of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress and the congress of LCY reform. In his introductory report, Svetozar Krstic, a Serbian LC CC Presidium member, said that agreements had been reached on completing the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress on 26 May when the present leadership will be released from their duties and a committee elected that will prepare the LCY reform congress. [passage omitted]

Replying to Vlajko Stojilkovic as to what to do if the committee for preparing the LCY reform congress does not accept the idea that the congress should be held even as late as September, Bogdan Trifunovic, who was chairing the session, said that it had been decided during a LCY CC Presidium session that the date of the reform congress should be laid down during the concluding session of the 14th congress on on 26 Mday (the LCY CC Presidium also suggested 29 September as the date on which to hold the reform congress). [passage omitted]

Draft Amendments to Constitution

AU2905143590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 May 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Documents: Draft Amendments to the SFRY Constitution: For the Benefit of All in the Federal Community"]

[Text] At its 24 April 1990 session, the Commission for Constitutional Questions of the SFRY Assembly framed the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution, in compliance with the conclusions of the Federal Chamber of 15 March 1990, and it is submitting the draft—in the spirit of Article 116 of the Rules on Joint Work of the SFRY Assembly Chambers—to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly for processing as provided by the SFRY Constitution.

The explanation of the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution will be submitted as soon as it is prepared by the commission.

The commission appointed the following as its representatives for the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution: Dr. Slobodan Gligorijevic, Dr. Mijat Sukovic, Dr. Gasa Mijanovic, Ema Derosi-Bjelajac, Dr. Svetomir Skaric, Dr. Marjan Rozic, Dr. Budimir Kosutic, Bajram Arifi, Mojsa Kostic, and Dr. Vlade Kambovski.

The commission empowered the commission president to appoint, if needed, other members of the commission or professional advisers to the commission as its representatives for the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution.

Draft Amendments to the SFRY Constitution

These amendments are an integral part of the SFRY Constitution and they come into force on the day of their promulgation.

Amendment XLIX (49)

Sections II, III (except Paragraph 17), IV, VIII, and X of the Basic Principles of the SFRY Constitution will cease to have effect.

Alternative:

Sections II through X of the Basic Principles of the SFRY Constitution will cease to have effect.

Amendment L (50)

1. Social, state, cooperative, and private property and other forms of property established by federal law are guaranteed.

In conformity with this Constitution, the performance of economic and other activities with the means under all forms of ownership is free. All the forms of ownership are equal, and they enjoy equal protection. Ownership rights may be enjoyed by physical and juristic persons.

2. Ownership rights and obligations toward socially and state-owned means, and the conditions under which other forms of ownership may be attained over these means, are regulated by federal law.

Natural resources, assets in general use, and the economic infrastructure are under social or state ownership. Under the conditions determined by federal law, some assets in the infrastructure of the economy may also be held under other forms of ownership. The right of exploitation may be attained over natural resources and assets in general use, under the conditions determined by the law.

3. Citizens are guaranteed their ownership of agricultural land.

4. An alien may attain rights of ownership under the conditions determined by federal law.

5. Sections 1 and 2 replace Article 10, Article 12 Paragraphs 1 and 2, and Article 13 Paragraph 2. Section 3 replaces Article 80 Paragraph 3 of the SFRY Constitution and Section 2 of Amendment XXIII to the SFRY Constitution. Section 4 supplements Amendment XV to the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment LI (51)

1. Ownership and work are the basis of management, self-management, and participation in decision-making.

Workers have the right to self-management, or to participation in decisionmaking on the basis of the law, collective agreements, and statutes, in conformity with the principles of mutual dependence between rights and obligations.

2. This amendment replaces Article 11; Article 13 Paragraph 1; Articles 14, 17, 20, 21, and 22 of the SFRY Constitution; and Section 2; Section 3 Paragraphs 1 and 2; Section 5 Paragraph 1; Section 6 Paragraph 2; and Section 7 of Amendment X to the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment LII (52)

The provisions of Article 30 Paragraphs 2, 4, and 5; Articles 41, 45, 46, and 60; Article 61 Paragraph 2; Article 104 Paragraphs 1, 3, and 4; Articles 129 and 130; and Article 194 Paragraph 3 of the SFRY Constitution; and of Section 12 of Amendment X; Section 2 Paragraph 2 of Amendment XI; and Section 5 of Amendment XXIV to the SFRY Constitution will cease to have effect.

Alternative:

Another paragraph is added to this amendment, reading: "The provisions of Amendment XVII and Amendment XXXIII to the SFRY Constitution will cease to have effect.

Amendment LIII (53)

1. The funds for the implementation of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the law and of the determined needs and interests of society in the fields of education, science, culture, health, pension and disability insurance, social protection, social security, and other fields determined by the Constitution and the law are provided by the budgets of sociopolitical communities, by social funds, or in other ways determined by the law.

Working people and citizens have the right of free organization for the purpose of satisfying their personal and common needs and of providing funds for their satisfaction.

2. This amendment replaces Amendment XVI to the SFRY Constitution, and the provisions of Articles 110 through 113, and Article 165 Paragraph 2 of the SFRY Constitution will cease to have effect.

Amendment LIV (54)

1. Federal law regulates the control over the correctness of the data and the legality of the disposition of juristic persons' resources, the financial audit of public expenditure, the provision of financial reports on the business operations of juristic persons, the checking of the returns and the payments of taxes, contributions, and other dues, and the position, functioning, and the basic organization of the service to perform these duties.

2. The provisions of Article 77, Paragraphs 2, 3, and 4 of the SFRY Constitution; of Section 2 of Amendment XVIII; Section 3 of Amendment XXXI, and Section 1, Subsection 8 of Amendment XXXIX of the SFRY Constitution will cease to have effect.

Amendment LV (55)

1. The citizens and working people are the holders of authority, which they exercise through decision-making at meetings, through referendums, and through other forms of personal expression, and through representatives in the assemblies of the sociopolitical communities.

The citizens and working people manage other social affairs in conformity with the principle of self-organization.

2. This amendment replaces Articles 88 through 91 of the SFRY Constitution, and the provisions of Amendment I and Section 1 Paragraphs 2 and 5 of Amendment II to the SFRY Constitution will cease to have effect.

Amendment LVI (56)

1. The composition, organization, and powers of the assemblies and other bodies of sociopolitical communities are regulated by the Constitution or the statute and the law.

2. The citizens and working people elect their representatives to the assemblies of sociopolitical communities by direct and secret vote.

The candidates for representatives to the assemblies of sociopolitical communities are proposed and nominated by the citizens and working people, political organizations, and other forms of organization and association in the way prescribed by the law.

The nomination procedure for the election of representatives to the assemblies of sociopolitical communities is regulated in such a way that a free expression of the will of the citizens and working people is ensured in proposing and nominating the candidates.

3. The election and recall of representatives to the assemblies of sociopolitical communities is conducted according to tho procedure determined by the law.

4. The term of office of the representatives to the assemblies of sociopolitical communities is four years. The term of office of the representatives to the assemblies of sociopolitical communities may be extended or contracted according to the Constitution.

5. The office of a representative to the assembly of a sociopolitical community is incompatible with the offices in the bodies of the same sociopolitical communities determined by the law.

6. A sociopolitical community sets up an executive body.

7. Section 1 replaces Articles 132, 144, and 145; Section 2 replaces Articles 135 through 138; Section 3 replaces Article 142; Section 4 replaces Article 134; Section 5 replaces Article 140; Section 6 replaces Article 148; and the provisions of Article 141 of the SFRY Constitution and of Amendment XXVI to the SFRY Constitution will cease to have effect.

Amendment LVII (57)

The provisions of Article 147 of the SFRY Constitution will cease to have effect.

Amendment LVIII (58)

1. Citizens are equal in their rights and obligations regardless of their ethnicity, race, sex, language, religion, political or other persuasion, social origin, birth, education, social position, or any other personal characteristic.

2. The death sentence may be exceptionally prescribed and pronounced only for the worst forms of criminal acts committed during a state of war or direct danger of war.

Alternative for Section 2:

Section 2 is hereby rescinded.

3. Nobody may be subjected to torture or cruel, inhumane, or humiliating punishment or acts.

It is forbidden to perform medical or scientific experiments on any person without his consent.

4. Personal privacy is inviolable.

5. Only the law may stipulate that it is possible, and only on the basis of a court's decision, to deviate from the principle of inviolability of the secrecy of letters and other general means of communication if this is indispensable for the conduct of a criminal procedure or for the country's security.

6. The freedom of conscience and practicing religion is guaranteed.

Religious communities may engage in business and other activities under the conditions determined by law. Religious communities cannot engage in political and other activities and cannot form political organizations.

7. The confidentiality of personal data is guaranteed.

The collection, processing, and the purpose of using personal data is regulated by law. The use of personal data for anything other than the designated purpose of collecting it is forbidden.

8. The freedom of political organization and activities is guaranteed.

Political organization and activities are forbidden if they are aimed at: forcefully changing the constitutionally determined system, endangering the territorial integrity and independence of the country, violating the constitutionally guaranteed freedoms and rights of man and citizens, or stoking national, racial, and religious hatred and intolerance.

9. The free founding of trade unions as independent workers' organizations is guaranteed.

10. The right of workers to social insurance as determined by the Constitution and the law is safeguarded by the mandatory insurance in accordance with the law.

11. The citizens may have the right to reside in social or state property under the conditions determined by law.

12. Section 1 replaces Article 154, Paragraph 1; Section 2 replaces Article 175, Paragraph 2; Section 3 supplements Article 179; Section 4 supplements Article 185; Section 5 replaces Article 185, Paragraph 2; Section 6 replaces the first sentence of Article 174, Paragraph 1 and supplements Article 174; Sections 7-9 supplement Chapter III of the second part of the SFRY Constitution; Section 10 replaces the first sentence of Article 163, Paragraph 1; Section 11 replaces Article 164, Paragraph 1 of the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment LIX (59)

1. The juridical function is performed by the regular courts as bodies of state authority.

The regular courts are independent in the performance of their juridical functions and make judgments on the basis of the constitution of laws. If it is not expressed by the law that certain disputes should be resolved by the regular courts, the parties involved may entrust arbitration to the councils of reconciliation, elected courts, or other courts for settling disputes that arise from the parties' mutual relations that they regulate independently or that arise from the rights that they freely posses.

The authority, composition, and organization of arbitrations, councils of reconciliation, elected or other courts, and the procedure before these courts and the method of electing and dismissing judges, are determined by an act on establishing courts, in accordance with the law. Some types of courts for settling certain types of disputes may also be established by law.

2. The judges and citizens who participate in trials in the regular courts are elected and dismissed by the assembly of the sociopolitical community determined by the Constitution and the law.

Judges of the regular courts are elected for an indefinite term of office.
3. The Public Prosecutor's Office performs its function on the basis of the Constitution and the law.
4. Section 1 replaces Article 92, Paragraph 2, Articles 217 and 219, Articles 223 to 226; Section 2 replaces Article 230, Paragraphs 1, 3, and 4; Section 3 replaces Article 235, Paragraph 2 of the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment LX (60)

1. The basis of the unified Yugoslav market is composed of:
—the unified taxation system and the common bases of the taxation policy.
2. This amendment replaces all paragraphs of Section 1, Item [alineja] 2 of Amendment XXXI to the SFRY Constitution.

Alternative for the entire Amendment 60:

This amendment is hereby rescinded.

Amendment LXI (61)

1. The National Bank of Yugoslavia, the national banks of the republics, and the national banks of the autonomous provinces are responsible, within the framework of their rights and duties, for the unified implementation and the supervision of the implementation of the policy, and for the implementation of federal laws and other regulations and general acts concerning the monetary, credit, and foreign exchange systems. The National Bank of Yugoslavia, the national banks of the republics, and the national banks of the autonomous provinces are responsible, within the framework of their rights and duties, for the stability of the currency, for the general payments' liquidity in the country, and vis-a-vis foreign countries.

Alternative for Section 1:

This section is hereby rescinded.
2. The National Bank of Yugoslavia is headed by the governor, who is accountable for his work and the work of the bank to the SFRY Assembly.

The National Bank of Yugoslavia forms the Board of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, which is elected by the SFRY Assembly from a pool of scientists and experts from all republics and autonomous provinces.
3. Section 1 replaces Section 2, Paragraph 3 and Section 3 of Amendment XXXV; Section 2 replaces Article 263, Paragraph 3 of the SFRY Constitution and Section 6 of Amendment XXXV to the SFRY Constitution.

Alternative for the entire Amendment 61:

This amendment is hereby rescinded.

Amendment LXII (62)

1. The revenues of the federation consist of custom duties and the revenues from other sources as determined by federal law.
2. This amendment replaces Article 279, Paragraph 2 of the SFRY Constitution and Section 2 of Amendment XXXVIII to the SFRY Constitution.

Alternative for the entire Amendment 62:

This amendment is hereby rescinded.

Amendment LXIII (63)

1. The federation, via federal bodies:
(1) regulates the taxation system and ensures the implementation of federal laws that determine the revenues of the federation; determines the common bases of the taxation policy;

Alternative for Subsection (1):
(1) regulates the basis of the taxation system—the sources, types, and the basis of taxation, taxpayers, tax rates, tax exemptions and allowances—and determines the common bases of the taxation policy;
(2) regulates the association of citizens in associations, social organizations, and political organizations that are founded o the territory of the SFRY;
(3) regulates the system of personal and property insurance.
2. Subsection (1) of this amendment replaces Article 264, Paragraphs 2 and 3 and Article 265, Paragraph 2, Section 2 of Amendment XXXI, and Section 1 Subsection (5) of Amendment XXXIX; Subsection (2) replaces the last sentence of Section 1, Subsection (1) of Amendment XXXIX to the SFRY Constitution; Subsection (3) replaces the following words of Article 281, Paragraph 1 Subsection (5) of the SFRY Constitution: "the bases of the system of personal and property insurance."

Alternative for Section 2:

A new paragraph is added and it reads as follows:

"In Article 274 Paragraph 3, after the words 'custom duty,' add the words 'the tax that is the revenue of the federation.'"

Alternative for the entire Amendment 63:

This amendment is hereby rescinded.

Amendment LXIV (64)

1. The Federal Chamber is composed of 30 delegates (deputies) of citizens from each republic and 20 delegates (deputies) from each autonomous province.

Alternative to Section 1:

The Federal Chamber is composed of 220 delegates (deputies) who, as representatives of the citizens, are elected proportionately to the number of citizens who have the right to vote, provided that every republic has at least 20 and autonomous provinces 10 delegates (deputies). The electoral units of the delegates (deputies) to the Federal Chamber in the republics and autonomous provinces are determined by the law.

The election and recall of the delegates (deputies) to the Federal Chamber is regulated by federal law. The delegates (deputies) to the Federal Chamber are elected by the citizens in their constituencies by direct, general, and secret vote.

2. The Federal Executive Council [FEC] adopts measures for the realization of the established development and economic policy.

3. Section 1 replaces Section 1 of Amendment XL; Section 2 supplements Article 347 of the SFRY Constitution; and the provisions of Amendment V to the SFRY Constitution will cease to have effect.

Amendment LXV (65)

1. The Chamber of Republics and Provinces, on the basis of the consent of the assemblies of the republics and autonomous provinces

(1) determines the development policy (the social plan of Yugoslavia) and the strategy of scientific and technological development;

Alternative for Subsection (1):

This subsection is hereby rescinded, as well as Section 3, Subsection (1) of Amendment XL to the SFRY Constitution.

(2) adopts federal laws that regulate relations concerning: the monetary system, the issue of money, the foreign exchange system, foreign trade and financial and other economic relations with other countries; the accumulation and use of domestic and foreign currency reserves, when this is in the interest of the country as a whole; tariff and nontariff protection; the social control of the price of goods and services; financing and other forms of stimulating the faster development of economically underdeveloped republics and autonomous provinces; restrictions imposed on the market and the free flow of goods and service; the basis, forms, and methods of compensation; the taxation system; the obligatory amalgamation of business organizations that as unified technological systems perform activities in the spheres of electric power generation, railroad transportation, and postal-telephone-telegraph communications; the obligatory amalgamation of business and other organizations into communities and other forms of ties, and cooperation in other spheres when the technological unity of the systems in these spheres is of interest for the country as a whole; and the system and sources of funds for financing the federation;

(3) determines the common foreign exchange and monetary policy and the common bases of the taxation policy.

Alternative for Subsection (3):

The words "the common foreign exchange and monetary policy" are rescinded.

(4) determines the total size of the expenditure of the federation for every year; determines the total size of the funds for financing the Yugoslav People's Army for the period for which the medium-term social plan of Yugoslavia is adopted.

Alternative for Subsection (4):

The words "the medium-term social plan of Yugoslavia" are replaced with the words "the plan of developing, building up, and equipping the Yugoslav People's Army."

2. This amendment replaces Section 3, Subsections (2) and (3) of Amendment XL, and the provisions of Section 2 of Amendment XL to the SFRY Constitution will cease to have effect.

Alternative for the entire Amendment 65:

This amendment is hereby rescinded.

Amendment LXVI (66)

The provisions of Section 1, Paragraph 1 and Section 2 of Amendment XLI to the SFRY Constitution that determine the role of the Socialist Alliance in proposing the appointment and dismissal of members of the SFRY Presidency will cease to have effect.

Amendment LXVII (67)

The provisions of the following will cease to have effect: Article 131 and Article 347; Article 285, Section 13, and the words in Article 281, Paragraph 1 Subsection (3) "determines the principles on the status, rights, and duties of the public defender of self-management" are rescinded, as well as the words in Article 283, Section 9 and Article 288, Section 3 of the SFRY Constitution: "appoints and dismisses the federal public defender of self-management."

Amendment LXVIII (68)

1. If responsible bodies fail to carry out a federal law, some other regulation, or general act, or do not ensure their implementation, the federal bodies of administration will draw the attention of the appropriate republican or provincial bodies of administration to this fact, and will demand that appropriate measures that would ensure their implementation be undertaken within a specified period of time. The federal bodies of administration will at the same time inform the FEC about this.

If even after the warning has been issued and measures have been taken, the implementation of the federal law or some other regulation or general act is still not ensured, the FEC will directly ensure their implementation and inform the SFRY Assembly about it.

2. The FEC has the right, pending a decision of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia or other authoritative body, to stay the implementation of an unconstitutional and unlawful regulation or other general act or activity of an executive or administrative body of the

sociopolitical community that violates the unified Yugoslav market or that deprives or limits the constitutionally guaranteed freedoms, rights, and duties of man and citizen, or violates the system as determined by the SFRY Constitution.

When the FEC stays the execution of a regulation or other general act or activity, it is obliged to initiate a procedure before the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia or another authoritative court without delay.
3. Section 1 replaces Section 3 of Amendment XXXVII, and Section 2 supplements Amendment XXXVII to the SFRY Constitution.

Alternative for the entire Amendment 68:

This amendment is hereby rescinded.

Amendment LXIX (69)

1. The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia decides whether the statute or other general act of a political organization, social organization, and citizens' association is in conformity with the SFRY Constitution, or whether it contradicts the federal law.
2. This Amendment supplements Article 375 of the SFRY Constitution.

Alternative for the entire Amendment 69:

This amendment is hereby rescinded.

Amendment LXX (70)

1. The Federal Chamber may decide that a change of the SFRY Constitution be initiated on the basis of the views of the assemblies of the republics and autonomous provinces, or on the basis of the views of the assemblies of the republics, on the proposal that a change of the SFRY Constitution be initiated.
2. This amendment replaces Article 400, Paragraph 2 of the SFRY Constitution.

Alternative for the entire Amendment 70:

This amendment is hereby rescinded.

Amendment LXXI (71)

1. In Article 267, Items 2-4 of the SFRY Constitution the words "social funds," and in Items 2 and 3 the words "social resources" (in different grammatical cases) are replaced with the words "resources."

In Paragraphs 2 and 4 of Amendment XXXII to the SFRY Constitution, the words "to the benefit of a self-managing interest community or other forms of self-managing organizing" are replaced with the words "to the benefit of a social fund or other forms of organizing."
2. In Article 97, Paragraph 1; Article 116, Paragraph 4; and Article 326 the words "sociopolitical organizations" are replaced with the words "political and social organizations" (in the appropriate grammatical case); in Article 124, Paragraph 1 the words "trade unions and other sociopolitical organizations" are replaced with the words "trade unions, political"; in Article 244, Paragraph 2, Item 5 of the SFRY Constitution the words "sociopolitical and other social organizations" are replaced with the words "trade unions, political organizations, social organizations."

Amendment LXXII (72)

A constitutional law will be passed to implement Amendments LXIX to LXXI of the SFRY Constitution. A draft constitutional law is adopted in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly if two-thirds of all delegates in this chamber vote in favor of it.

The constitutional law is adopted when the text adopted by the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly is approved by the assemblies of all republics and autonomous provinces. The constitutional law is promulgated and comes into force together with Amendments XLIX to LXXII to the SFRY Constitution.

Bosnia-Herzegovina Condemns 'Attacks' on Republic

LD2505163190 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0010 GMT 25 May 90

[Text] Sarajevo, May 24 (TANJUG)—The assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina today condemned and rejected attacks of certain political parties from other Yugoslav republics on its sovereignty and territorial integrity and the negation of and claims on its majority population—the Moslem nation. The assembly asked the highest state organs to condemn this anti-constitutional activity.

Such territorial pretensions to the republic, inhabited by Moslems, Serbs, Croats and other nations, has so far been expressed by the extreme wing of the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) [HDZ], which won at the recent multi-party elections in the republic, and the unregistered extremely nationalistic parties from Serbia—the Serbian Renewal Movement and the Serbian National Renaissance Party.

It was announced today [25 May] that the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina will tomorrow hold a rally in downtown Sarajevo, the republican capital, at which they will express their views on nationalism, negation of the common life of nations and nationalities in the republic and in Yugoslavia.

FEC-Organized 'Yugoslav Television' Planned

AU2505132390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
21 May 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: Yugoslav Television News This Fall"]

[Text] Although many disagreeing plans were presented by television centers during the Neum Television Festival and there were many hints on disagreement among the members of the Yugoslav Radio and Television concerning essential parts of a joint program, some hope nevertheless appeared during the promotion of the informative program of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], which was the most significant ancillary manifestation of this year's Neum Festival.

Deputy Information Secretary Mustafa Cengic spoke about the activities within this information package. The greatest attention of people working with television and the journalists reporting on the festival was attracted by the announcement of a joint Yugoslav television news program in four languages, which would be broadcast every day at 2200 to the whole of Yugoslavia, most probably as soon as September. It will be produced by an independent editorial board that according to the FEC, should consist of the best and most creative journalists and technicians. Yugoslav news will be a beginning of the Yugoslav satellite project that will be made by a joint-stock company in which the majority of shares will be owned by the FEC and Yugoslav Radio and Television. The ambition is that this—an independent television program that will broadcast all the best information, entertainment, cultural, and sports programs in the country—will be broadcast via satellite too, so that in addition to Yugoslavia, it can also be received in Europe.

Milosevic Congratulates Yeltsin on Election

LD3005200590 Belgrade TANJUG Dometic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, Socialist Republic of Serbia Presidency president, has sent a message of congratulations to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin on the latter's election to the post of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet chairman.

SFRY Presidency Statement on Greek Relations

LD2505103990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 23 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 May (TANJUG)—At the 23 May session presided over by President Borisav Jovic, the SFRY Presidency examined current relations with Greece, noting the importance of the development of good relations between the two neighboring countries and the mutual interest in resolving all open issues. Particular consideration was given to the position of the Macedonian national minority in Greece, and it was emphasized that dialogue and negotiations are the only way to remove all open questions.

Open borders, freedom of movement and communications, which our country consistently advocates, it was noted, would represent a positive framework for stable good-neighbor cooperation. The expectation was expressed that the Greek side will accept our country's initiatives in this direction.

The SFRY Presidency again assessed that there are no differences in the approaches by the federal institutions, in particular the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, and those of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia on all questions of our relations with our neighbors, primarily relations with Greece. In this connection, it was again stressed that there is unity in the formulation and implementation of our country's foreign policy.

The SFRY Presidency also examined preparations for Yugoslavia's participation at the CSCE conference on the human environment in Copenhagen that begins on 5 June, based on information submitted by Federal Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar. In this context, Yugoslavia's relations with neighboring countries and the position and realization of the rights of our national minorities were considered.

The importance that Yugoslavia attaches to the development of good-neighbor relations, all-round, and mutually beneficial cooperation with all its neighbors, in which the position of national minorities and the degree of the realization of their rights is an important factor in the development of good-neighbor relations, was stressed again. Our country will continue to advocate, as it has done up until now, the positive development of relations with neighboring countries in all areas, and in this connection it was stressed that in this way Yugoslavia is contributing to the further promotion and strengthening of the CSCE process. Supporting the positive changes in the countries of central and East Europe, and particularly in certain neighboring countries, Yugoslavia will devote particular attention at the forthcoming CSCE conference in Copenhagen to the humanitarian aspect of the new climate that is being created in relations between European countries, the focus of which is the realization of human and national rights.

The inseparable link was stressed between respect for individual human rights and the respect and realization of national rights, including the rights of minorities.

The SFRY Presidency also examined and approved the stand of the Yugoslav delegation at the forthcoming summit conference of 15 nonaligned and developing countries that is to be held at the beginning of June in the Malaysian capital of Kuala Lumpur on questions of the mutual economic cooperation of the developing countries and their position in the world economy.

Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic informed the SFRY Presidency of the results of his recent visit to Iraq and the talks that he held with President Saddam Husayn and other top Iraqi officials. The SFRY Presidency assessed that these talks expressed the mutual desire for promoting the economic relations between the two countries and the interest in strengthening cooperation at the international level, and particularly within the Nonaligned Movement. The SFRY Presidency assessed as important that fact that in these talks agreement was reached on the regulation of Yugoslavia's claims from Iraq, which will encourage the further development of the economic cooperation between the two countries.